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The Spirit of Caprera: An Ethnographic Analysis of Sailing

Gilberto Galeazzi

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

The University of Edinburgh

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Declaration

I, Gilberto Galeazzi, declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

(Gilberto Galeazzi)

Vitae Magistris Meis

Abstract

The research investigates the Centro Velico Caprera (CVC), a sailing school located in the Mediterranean Sea, whose purpose is to replicate the lifestyle of a ship on land. This ambition creates an isolated environment in which the frequenters are completely immersed and the life is heavily controlled through different spatial and temporal means. The people who attend the school and become part of its community refer to its characteristics and to the collective essence they experience as “the Spirit of Caprera”. Using an ethnographic approach and in particular participant observation as a primary source of data, and formal semi-structured interviews, the research investigated the internal dynamics of the school and the nature of the ‘spirit’ by looking at the setting from the insiders’ point of view. The investigation aspired to gain a better understanding of the setting as a sailing community and of the relationships that are created that appear to make this environment unique. The research used sociological concepts as “benchmarks”, such as total institution, status and roles, routine and rituals, subculture and power, to guide the data collection and the analysis. Moreover, it made use of key thinkers such as Goffman and Foucault. The analysis has revealed that in the Centro Velico Caprera the “spirit” can be considered as the consequence and result of more specific dynamics. In particular, the school’s organisational and institutional structure, the time management, the role and functioning of authority and finally the rules and norms that derive from the idea of being part of a unique crew. The research engaged also in the analysis of social class and gender discrimination that characterise the school. The study of this school contributes to the study of sport and in particular sailing, which has often been ignored, by adding a new perspective and analysis to its study. The main contributions surround the comparison with other similar sailing subcultures and realities, such as ocean cruising, the development of the

concept of the sport panopticon related to authority and its functioning, the notion of spirit, its meaning and significance, and the particular structure of the institution with its consequence for the frequenters. Moreover, the study also aimed to contribute to the narrower debates surrounding the “benchmark” concepts, their use and their understanding in social theory and for sport studies.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Aims

This thesis investigates the different dynamics, behaviours, activities that Italian sailors, or aspiring sailors, experience while attending the Centro Velico Caprera sailing school. In a period of about three years, this research has given me the possibility of exploring a setting that has always sparked my interest and curiosity as a sociologist because of the feelings and dynamics I was able to observe and experience in it. The isolation, the hierarchical structure, the natural environment and the strong sense of belonging to the community and place have always interested me. In the many years during which I have participated in this school's practices, I have developed a sense of affection for it as well as a drive to critically understand the different processes that take place there. All the different steps of the research have allowed me to grasp some aspects of this school that have attracted and charmed many different people and more than two generations of sailors. Through this research, I have been able to provide an account of the 'spirit' of the place, its meaning and how it is created. Moreover, it has been possible to deeply investigate certain crucial aspects of the setting, such as its institutional form, culture, time, gender and authority.

The Centro Velico Caprera (CVC) is one of the most important sailing schools of the Mediterranean Sea. It is located on a small island, Caprera, in the northern part of Sardinia. Caprera, as well as the Maddalena Archipelago¹, is a protected natural park and for this reason not inhabited permanently. The only time during the year during which people live there is from late spring through to early autumn. The school is situated in the southwestern

¹ See Appendix: Map 1-2

part of the island alongside a four-kilometre road, and it has three bases where the activities take place on different types of boats, such as dinghies or yachts. In Italy, the school is quite famous and renowned not only for the sailing aspect but also for its particular lifestyle and environment which is considered to be tough, severe, spartan and simple. The CVC administrative structure and its composition have not been investigated in this research since the focus was on the experience rather than the functioning of the bureaucratic side of the school².

According to its frequenters, a term that is used in the research to indicate the totality of people that come to the school, the CVC appears to be a particular environment. It not only provides sailing knowledge through practical and theoretical assets, but also aims to create a precise environment and life organisation in which people become completely embedded. The school's explicit and declared purpose is to "replicate the normal way of life of a boat on land in which the pupils create a large crew" (www.centrovelicocaprera.it). This precise ambition creates an environment in which pupils as well as instructors are completely absorbed. The lifestyle forces people to live in close contact with each other both on land and at sea for one or two weeks, depending on the course's length. Due to the close organisation and proximity of the barracks with the communal areas, the lack of free time and the different sailing activities, people are compelled to spend the vast majority of the day with their course mates. Life is controlled by a rigid timetable that marks the rhythm of the day and by a strict discipline determined by the intention to have a life style as simple and as related to sailing as possible. In particular, the life of the school tries to imitate the life organisation that can be found onboard tall ships. Being isolated from the rest of society seems to contribute in a very important way to the creation of particular and peculiar dynamics. These characteristics

² See Appendix: School's history and governance

and features make the CVC an interesting field of investigation within the sociology of culture and the sociology of sport. The aims can be seen as two-fold since they are inspired, related and led by both of these sociology branches.

The primary research aim is related to one of Ragin and Amoroso's (2011) typology of research purposes. The goal of this project is to provide an in-depth explanation and interpretation of the setting and to obtain a better understanding of the cultural phenomena that take place in it. The research aims to investigate and describe the internal dynamics of this sailing school from an insider's point of view. Analysing this setting, which appears to have some unique features, could help further the understanding of the sport of sailing, the CVC's cultural phenomena and the role they have in society, or for a certain part of society, that participate in those practices. On the one hand, the research can be considered to be contextual in the sense of describing the forms of what exists in the setting (Ritchie et al., 2014). The research has been concerned with describing the meaning that people attach to certain situations and experiences that are also recreated by these meanings. On the other hand, the research is also explanatory (Ritchie et al., 2014), since it aims to examine the reasons for what exists, such as 'the spirit of Caprera'. In particular, the research investigates the reasons that lead to the creation of the spirit and the context in which this particular spirit rises. Therefore, the research has investigated the different experiences, practices and behaviours that appear specific to the place. The research has focused on the different relationships that are created in such a specific environment in which people live in close contact and with strict rules for a short period of time. The people who habitually attend the school refer to these conditions as the 'spirit of Caprera'. This idea is hazy and undefined, and it includes very different aspects. People who are captured by the dynamics and features of this place often refer to this idea, however when asked for any clarification they are unable to provide a clear definition. The spirit, even

if it is not completely defined, appears to be a recurring theme in the experience. The research aspired to investigate these features to try to define them and understand the nature of this spirit, its meaning and significance for the frequenters. The research also attempts to uncover which particular elements may have lead to the sociocultural construction of this place and its characteristics. These can be considered the most important elements that can create these dynamics and the spirit. This more general aim can be broken down into three more precise ones. Firstly, to analyse in depth and understand the setting as a sailing community. Secondly, to investigate the internal social characteristics and process of the sailing school. Thirdly, to comprehend the elements and processes that appear to make this environment special, unique and to which people refer to as the 'spirit of Caprera'.

The research places itself in a boundary between the sociology of sport and the sociology of culture, since it is led and cooperatively informed by both branches. The originality and novelty of the study are characterised by this two-fold focus. The cultural and sport aspects are continuously intertwined and interrelated throughout the thesis, creating a single but double-faced unit of analysis. On the one hand, a close insight and perception of the sport community has been achieved, highlighting the particular and strictly connected norms, values and ideals that the frequenters of the school perceive as unique. On the other hand, the contribution that the thesis could bring to the sociology of sport is related to the study of sailing, which is a fundamental part of the life and a sport that remains quite unexplored. In fact, it has not been explored broadly and does not appear to have as much visibility and consideration as other sports in the social sciences, even though it has been considered by some authors (Zurcher, 1965; Zurcher, 1967; McCulloch, 2004; McCulloch, 2007; McCulloch et al., 2010). Studies on sailing have focused more on ocean cruising and some on yachting, while dinghies have been quite ignored (Jennings, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2007; Lett,

1983; Lusby and Anderson, 2008, 2009; Macbeth, 1985, 1988, 1992, 2000). Sailing can vastly change as a sport according to different variables like being on dinghies or yachts, competitiveness or non-competitiveness, ocean or off-shore cruising, land-based or sea-based and lifestyle or leisure. Some researchers have taken for granted the sailing community studied, since they were more interested in the dynamics, like authority, decision-making, the communal life or sailing as education, and have not really considered the construction of such realities. This research focuses on and studies the formation of this community based on land but deeply inspired by and organised as a crew on a boat. The research contributes to the studies on sailing but some differences must be considered. Firstly, I have focused on the practices of sailing on dinghies rather than yachts and this offers a different insight into the sport. Secondly, my study is not solely onboard but equally based on land. Thirdly, the isolation, both physical and symbolic, of the setting should not be underestimated. Not having any contact with the outside world for a certain period of time has significantly affected the perception of the place and also of the sport. All these elements are important in distinguishing this study from other studies of sailing and for providing a further analysis of the sport. Moreover, I believe it has been interesting to consider how something transcendental and not palpable such as the 'spirit of Caprera' develops from a very practical activity. The focus on the spirit, I think, is one of the elements that make this research original, even though similar concepts have already been considered with some relevant differences. The reference to such experiences has been done more from the perspective of a psychological flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), a concept that signifies a state of happiness that people reach when 'in the zone' or 'in the groove' and represents an optimal state of mind, or in relation to the personal experience and perception of nature (Lusby and Anderson, 2008). Such studies have not looked at spirit in terms of

something collective and shared by a community but as something personal and related to the individual experience.

If the focus of the study can be considered to be partially innovative and original, the same cannot be said about the research method. The research has been carried out with an ethnographic approach which has often been used in sport studies, for example by De Garis (1999), Wheaton (1997), Stranger (2011) or Dyck (2012). Since sport is considered a cultural activity, able to reflect and reproduce the culture of a certain society, ethnography has often been thought to be an appropriate method of enquiry (Sand, 2002). The research might contribute to the shaping of sport ethnographies in general by representing sailing in this stream of sport studies.

The study can be considered grounded in the “constructivist approach, with a relativist ontological position” (Guba and Lincoln, 2000: 110). According to this approach, realities are learnt and experienced as multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, dependent on the individual and local and specific in nature. The epistemological position of the research is transactional and subjectivist. The researcher and the object of the investigation are perceived as interactively linked. This connection is also understood to be one of the causes of the findings created by this link (Guba and Lincoln, 2000).

Some elements related to the research design have been influenced by my Master’s dissertation, which investigated the same setting. I consider the dissertation, which lasted six weeks and used slightly different research methods, as a pilot study for this research. It is also important to consider my previous involvement in the setting which has also influenced the entire research process.

The thesis must be considered as a study of the spirit but also of the school of Caprera and its dynamics. The spirit is a consequence of the school’s structural characteristics which are what create the different behaviours. In

order to comprehend the spirit properly it is necessary to understand how the school works and what the consequences of such functioning are. Although the research also aims to contribute to the study of sailing and other sporting subcultures, the spirit and the school are the main elements that have been analysed. The thesis has focused on the institution because of how tied it is with the spirit, its creation, transmission and preservation. The discussion of the different results is organised around the idea of showing the point of view of the institution, its participants and the rationale behind certain choices. Only through the explanation of the different institutional elements can a clear idea of how the school works be achieved. Moreover, the frequenters highly identify with the school's characteristics and aims to the point that they internalise them and eventually turn them into the spirit. Unlike other subcultural studies of sport, this research is not concerned with the cultural-political discourses but more on its internal functioning. As the analysis progresses, I hope that the bond between the two main objects of study will be clarified and that the reasons for focusing a little bit more on the institutional aspects will be clearer.

The structure of the thesis reflects this aim: it is organised in two distinct parts. The first part is related to the research design, focusing on the discussion of the theoretical approach and the literature review of the concepts that have informed the research (2). I then discuss the research methods and their benefits and problems, the limitations and challenges of the research and the ethical issues (3). The second part of the thesis discusses the results and the analysis of the data. The discussion is organised in chapters that, related to the theoretical concepts, analyse and discuss the findings to highlight the school's functioning. The discussion is divided into five chapters that are organised to build a more complete and complex picture of the setting: starting from an analysis of the institution (4), which provides the skeleton of the school's structure, I then look at the time management (5) and the matter of authority (6), that, based on the

institutional skeleton, provides a clearer look at the internal dynamics of the school that seem relevant for the frequenters. I then provide an analysis of the school's community and (sub)culture (7) to show the values and norms of the school, as well as to provide a slightly less institutional perspective before focusing on the gender and social class dynamics (8). The last and conclusive chapter is both a discussion and a conclusion (9) combining the aspects previously discussed, relating them to the spirit before drawing some more general conclusions about the research.

Chapter 2

Theory and Literature Review

This chapter provides a discussion of the main theories and concepts that the research has used in its different phases. I focus on the wider theoretical approach of the research to the use of theory before discussing the different concepts and how they are understood.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

As explained in the introduction, the research places itself in a boundary between the sociology of sport and the sociology of culture. One of the biggest initial problems in the research was being able to locate it into the proper literature and then use that particular stream has a theoretical foundation. The initial thought was to place it within the sociology of sport literature since the CVC shares some aspects with certain research streams, for example lifestyle sport (Wheaton, 2013), character education and educational training, but it could not be considered to be fully pertinent. Even if there are some points of contact, which will be pointed out in the results and conclusion chapters, what seemed to prevent this full alignment were the setting characteristics and peculiarities together with the research aims. The need for gaining a better understanding of the spirit and its processes pushed me towards the sociology of culture. Moreover, being sailing a sport that has not been vastly investigated and being the CVC a setting with very particular characteristics that had not been researched before, did not allow me to use the approach other authors previously used. Nevertheless, the research can be situated in two more precise research streams. The first is related to the study of sport subcultures and communities, similarly to rock climbing (Rickly-Boyd, 2012), surfing

(Wheaton, 2013) and windsurfing (Dant and Wheaton, 2007; Wheaton, 2000). The study of the CVC allows a better comprehension and understanding of the sailing community and subculture on which there is very little literature about. The second is related to the study of the spirit and the ephemeral in the context of more mundane and secular activities (Parry, 2007). Given the role that spirit has in the research and the revolution that this notion has undergone in social sciences, the study of the CVC belongs to the stream that looks at spirituality as “the development of life meaning that is based in the experience and practice of a person or group” (Parry, 2007: 1). This stream appears the most relevant given that spirituality is developed in and through the disciplines and practices of a group (Robinson, 2007) and that the spirit is focused on practices, experiences and beliefs and it is located and learnt through direct experience (Robinson, 2007).

The combination of the aims, setting characteristics and the novelty of the study made me realise that I needed a theoretical approach that could be eclectic, flexible and agile to understand the setting and move between the two sociological branches. However, these theoretical needs had to be used as a strength and correctly so that they would not turn into weaknesses. Therefore, I decided to move away from the first idea of recurring to theoretical eclecticism (Stinson, 2009), which is used whenever one single theoretical approach does not satisfy the researcher, therefore, he/she recurs to different theoretical frameworks. Sometimes these frameworks do not even share the same epistemological or ontological positions but, by considering them as complementary, the research is able to obtain a more appropriate foundation (Stinson, 2009). For example, in Stinson’s (2009) study he created his theoretical framework from post-structural theory, critical race theory and critical postmodern theory. Theoretical eclecticism is often criticised for being self-contradictory, problematic and confusing since it could generate more confusion than insight (Sanderson, 1987).

Therefore, given how my research setting was confined I opted in favour of a milder approach that would only use concepts in an eclectic way. Conceptual eclecticism should be considered as one overarching theoretical framework that uses concepts in an eclectic way allowing flexibility but with clearer boundaries. In fact, in the development of the research there has been a set of different sociological concepts that have informed the study. This conceptual eclecticism allowed me to use the concepts as tools for establishing and discovering the particular features of the school (Stall, 1998; Skocpol and Somers, 1980). The fact that the research can be considered in a boundary between the two sociological branches is also reflected in the fact that the use of this conceptual eclecticism can be found in both.

The concepts are to be considered as “benchmarks” (Skocpol, 1984: 14). According to Skocpol, authors such as Bendix (1963) and Thompson (1966), used different concepts to guide the characterisation of historical instances. The theoretical concepts are used as sensitising and ‘elastic’ devices for illuminating particular historical occurrences. The strategy of using concepts as “benchmarks” has been created in response to the overgeneralisation and determinist tendencies deriving from structural functionalism and some Marxist approaches. This strategy, used originally as a critical approach, became, as Starr (2004) has re-emphasised, a “positive approach in its own right” (Skocpol, 1984: 398). Therefore, the different concepts can be used to orient the narrative of the exploration as well as to establish the particular features of the case study. In sport studies, a very similar use of concepts has been also made when it has not been possible to find a predominant sociological perspective or framework that informs the research. The concepts are used as a ‘tool box’ or as ‘heuristic devices’ for understanding cultural phenomena (Pearson, 1981). The conceptual eclecticism has been advocated in different cultural, as well as sport studies (Wheaton, 2013). This approach has also been termed as the ‘Physical Cultural Studies’ (PCS)

enterprise, which focuses on the critical and theoretical analysis of physical culture in all of its different forms (Andrews, 2008; Andrews and Silk, 2011). The PCS enterprise is “dedicated to the contextually based understanding of the corporal practices, discourses and subjectivities through which active bodies are organised, presented and experienced” (Andrews, 2008: 54). This approach uses a synthesis of empirical, theoretical and methodological influences drawing on different fields and concepts, given how physical culture is manifested and experienced in different forms. Central to this enterprise is the effort of discerning the complexity by mapping the lines and connections that produce a certain instance (Andrews, 2008). The PCS approach has often been perceived to be too North American driven by not taking into consideration other views within sociology or the sociology of sport (Wheaton, 2013).

There are two main possible limitations to this theoretical approach. The first could be vagueness which could result in poor explanatory power; in fact, it has often been criticised for being too vague, not able to really pin down the relevant issues and dispersive since it allows too much freedom which results in a lack of consistency (Wheaton, 2013). The second limitation, more related to this research, could be my role as an insider. Although my position as an insider, its challenges and benefits will be covered in the research methods chapter, it is also worth to mention it here since it also had a role in the initial concepts choice. In order to control these limitations, I adopted a form of ‘conceptual’ reflexivity. Therefore, the concepts have been used in two precise ways: heuristically and elastically (Skopcol, 1984) so to obtain a good degree of flexibility and adaptability. It was essential to let the notions of every concept emerge but also to allow the concepts to change throughout the study development. Practically this meant going back and forth many times between theory and empirical data and pay constant attention throughout the entire research that one could support and shape the other. During the different stages of the research

these concepts have been reshaped many times and narrowed down more precisely. The benchmarks do not impose a rule but ease and facilitate the exploration of the setting (Skopcol, 1984). The possibility of moving between more concepts and eventually combining them could allow to provide a more precise exploration of the characteristics and features of the setting, especially when investigating an ephemeral reality such as the spirit. Moreover, as in other sport and cultural studies, this approach enabled me to give a more multidimensional, complex and shifting account of the CVC (Wheaton, 2013). Therefore, adopting this approach, while being careful with my insider position and knowledge appeared appropriate given the exploratory nature of the research and the aim of investigating the spirit. Allowing concepts to be more flexible could allow different points of view and perspective to come together and emerge in the different steps of the research.

The concepts are in part informed by my Master's dissertation, which I consider a pilot study, and that suggested their initial relevance to the research and by my general experience and knowledge of the setting. The criteria on which I based my choice is very much tied to my previous dissertation and the involvement in the setting. I decided to initially choose broad concepts that I believed could be relevant so that I could set some wide boundaries to the exploration of the setting while having a good level of freedom to move between them, so to enhance and explore their characteristics. If the initial concepts selection can be considered slightly arbitrary, the data collection, the analysis and the reflexive processes have later proven their validity and relevancy while at the same time shaping them. For each concept, I will provide an explanation of its relationship with the setting and why I believed it to be relevant. Moreover, the relevance will be then discussed in more depth in the sections that cover the results and the analysis. The concepts must be considered the tools that are being used to characterise the spirit of Caprera, to understand how it is created, taught,

communicated and practiced. The connection between the concepts and the notion of spirit also allows me to ground and confine the idea of spirit itself so to not be too broad or vague. The concepts which are analysed and explored in greater depth compared to the Master's dissertation are: institution and total institutions, status and roles, routine and rituals, subculture, and power and discipline.

The discussion of the concepts that follows must be considered as the final understanding of the concepts after the heuristic, elastic and reflexive process. The way in which they are explained represents the back and forth process before and during the data collection. The presentation of the results and the analysis stresses how they are related to the data collected and how they can contribute of the research. Thus, the particular relevance of certain aspects of the concepts or any particular take on or interpretation of them, that has been influenced by the data, is discussed in the empirical chapters. However, before the account and discussion of these concepts, I will discuss the notion of spirit and its particularities. Although the spirit is presented alongside the other concepts, it needs to be considered also on a different level. In fact, the idea of spirit is not just one of the "benchmarks" of the study, it is the notion towards which the research is aiming. In the research, the spirit can be considered to be the target while the concepts are the means, used heuristically, to fulfil the research aims. The use of these concepts may also allow part of the research to be used in relation to contemporary debates about them by contributing through some of the findings.

2.2. Spirituality and Spirit

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the notion of spirituality in social sciences has been through a sort of revolution, that, nonetheless, has not been able to reach a settled view on this idea (Parry,

2007). However, in this period, the idea of spirituality has gained a more human dimension, rather than an exclusively religious one, and its consideration in the context of institutions and communities has increased, as well as its diversity and its exploration. Jim Parry (2007) identifies, from this sort of revolution, four different meanings and streams in which the notion of spirituality has been developed; one seems more appropriate for this research. This stream looks at spirituality as “the development of life meaning that is based in the experience and practice of a person or group” (Parry, 2007: 1). The idea of spirit considered in the research appears to belong to this stream to which the research contributes, given the centrality of practice and experience in the studied setting. In fact, while studying the spirit, experience and practice have a central role, as there is a close connection with sailing and as the research deals with a sport. The research also deals with the sport community around it, which is going to have an important role, given that spirituality is also often developed in and through the disciplines and practices of a group (Robinson, 2007).

As the notion of spirit is central to and important for both research aims, I shall now consider how the research addresses this expression, how it is intended and how its study is possible. So far, I have discussed the idea of spirituality rather than the notion of spirit and the former can be considered the practice and the outworking of the latter (Robinson, 2007).

It is important to understand that some relevant realities are indefinite (Law, 2004). The notion of spirit is not easily definable since it refers to something undefined, hazy and metaphysical. In general, spirit is often considered something that needs to be structured holistically and that involves the integration of affective, cognitive and physical elements, which often make it impossible to isolate the spiritual from the physical. In sport studies, the spirit is focused on practices, experiences and beliefs and it is located and learnt through direct experience (Robinson, 2007). Even if the characterisation of the notion still possesses some metaphysical features,

the spirit could be also understood in a metaphorical sense, such as the base of a collective essence. In this research, this notion is regarded as something with a somewhat mystical nature that corresponds to certain characteristics experienced and to a certain attitude strictly connected to the place and its practices. Given the connection that the sailing practices and experiences have with the setting, the role of the environment and its characteristics, such as being isolated, needs to be properly considered. An exploration of the relationship between sport, practice and environment is what I consider to be one of more unique characteristics of the research through which it will be able to contribute to this stream of studies.

Given the difficulties in understanding the concept, also the method of enquiry needs to be considered. As suggested by Law (2004), standard research methods are badly adapted to study the ephemeral, the indefinite and the irregular because of the normative discourses that are attached and related to these methods. The normative discourses tend to make excessive claims about the status of research methods and their ability to study the world and to understand it as a set of fairly specific, determinate and identifiable processes. Therefore, the problem is not about the method itself but rather the normative discourses around it. According to Law (2004), it is fundamental to understand that the methods help to shape and produce the reality that they help to understand. It seems clear that behind this idea of the methods as creators of reality there is also the idea of multiplicity of the world. Therefore, given the performativity of methods, the problem shifts from an epistemological point of view to an ontological point of view, since different methods produce different results based on different realities, which are also produced by the investigation (Law and Urry, 2004). It is also important to notice how this idea, expressed by Law, from a certain point of view, is connected to the general constructivist approach of the research.

In order to give an account of the spirit, it is necessary to consider different elements that allow a better understanding and study of it. Throughout the

research, three ideas had great importance in regard to the general aims and purposes of the thesis. Firstly, the notion of multiplicity and variety of realities which is also connected to the idea of the fluidity of certain matters, such as the spirit. Secondly, the idea of reflexivity related to the method rather than the researcher and in terms of how the method crafts the reality studied. Thirdly, the intention not to seek any universal or general conclusions but to seek a knowledge specifically located.

The notion of spirit is extremely relevant for and central to this research. In the development of the study it has been treated and addressed as a fluid concept, a concept with no rigid structure, for two different reasons. The first is methodological: a fluid concept allows any characteristic of the spirit to emerge, since the object of the study is less limited by a definition. The second reason, partially related to the first, regards the feasibility of a defined and exclusive definition of this concept. Practically, this has been achieved by trying, as much as possible, to not 'impose' any definition of spirit while gathering and analysing the data. What has been considered as a sign of spirit emerged from the discourses and narratives in the setting through the participants' voices. In relation to the fluidity, the use of the different benchmarks allowed different characteristics of the spirit to emerge depending on the concept that was being analysed or considered. Using this approach allowed different sides and aspects of the spirit to emerge, and only once everything had been considered, was it possible to consider the notion of spirit properly.

In conclusion, the account that the research gives of the 'spirit of Caprera', its collective essence related to the practices, experiences and the environment, is irretrievably connected to its fluidity and to the research method's performativity and relationality, for example in relation to reflexivity, in helping to create the reality studied (Law and Urry, 2004).

2.3. Institutions and Total Institutions

The school can be considered to have a hierarchical organisation in which pupils and instructors and staff are clearly separated; life is controlled by a rigid timetable and all the activities are designed to teach sailing. There is a lack of private moments due to the structure of the life and the base's organisation (for example, the barracks in which the pupils sleep), there are symbolic and physical barriers and rules connected to them, such as the impossibility to leave the base. It seems plausible to regard this setting as an institution and as a total institution in particular.

The definition of an institution from a sociological perspective has been quite problematic (Scott, 1995). In the contemporary analysis of institutions, some differences can still be traceable, but a broad definition can be found:

Institutions consist of cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provides stability and meaning to social behaviour. Institutions are transported by various carriers – cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction (Scott, 1995: 33).

The regulative, normative and cognitive structures represent the three pillars of every institution in which they all operate differently. The regulative is the capacity to establish rules, inspect or review others' conformity to them so to administer sanctions and to manipulate future behaviours. The normative system includes the values and norms and is also responsible for the creation of the roles of the institution (Wells, 1970). Finally, the cognitive pillar consists of the rules that constitute the nature of reality and the frames through which meaning is made.

All these three structures are traceable at the CVC that creates rules, values, norms, roles and a particular reality in which all of them have a particular meaning.

Erving Goffman (1968a) combined the term 'total' with the notion of institution to describe a particular type of confined setting:

A total institution may be defined as place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life (1968a: xiii).

Although Goffman's total institutions are not clearly defined, they do have some specific characteristics. These are (Davies, 1989):

- All aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same authority;
- Each moment of daily life is carried out with other people that are treated alike and required to do the same things together. Private life disappears;
- All phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled. The entire sequence is imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings;
- The activities are brought together into a defined plan designed to fulfil the aims of the institution;
- There is a clear separation between members and supervisors and mobility is restricted;
- Information on a member's future is often hidden from him, and the Self, which is composed by the attitudes, opinions, and cognitions that a person has of himself, is mortified through ritual and activities;
- The work structure in the institution demands different motives for work than those in everyday life;
- There are symbolic or physical barriers that indicate the break with society 'out there'.

According to Davies (1989), there are three variables that can change within total institutions. The first is the degree of openness or closeness, the second is the official explicit purpose of the institution and the third one is the dominant modes of eliciting compliance employed by the staff as perceived

by the inmates. Roles appear to have great importance in total institutions; in fact, the division of roles is essential. Within a total institution, two major roles can be identified: the inmates and the keepers. The former are the inhabitants of the institutions and the latter are those in charge of controlling the routine and the life of the inmates (Globerman, 1990). The relationship between the inmates and the keepers might vary according to four different variables: the staff perception of the inmates, the orientation of the relationship, the relation's model and the social distance (Ben-David, 1992). The different combinations of these four variables can create five different types of inmates-keepers relationship: the punitive type, the custodial type, the patronage type, the therapist type and finally the integrative type (Ben-David, 1992).

When entering an institution, the progress of members dedicated to following instructions, learning techniques and practising skills "is presented by a moral career trajectory" (Scott, 2011: 88). This career gains very particular characteristics in total institutions where the deprivation of liberty severely affects the inmates' personal identities. Being close in a total setting radically shapes everyone's personality; in fact, novices of a total institution are challenged on four different aspects of their 'persisting culture' and concept of self. These aspects are: the autonomy of action, the personal economy of emotion, privacy, and the individual picture of him/herself as a physical person (Zurcher, 1967). In general, this process is considered to be a process of mortification of the self (Goffman, 1968b), which can be witnessed in every total institution, since it is caused by its atmosphere (Karmel, 1969). However, this continuum in which the self changes is not without any form of resistance from the inmates, who often try to negotiate their new identity through the use of personal narratives (Paterniti, 2000). The use of these narratives can be understood as the attempt of the inmates to redefine the social framework of the institutions in which the rules are negotiated (Goffman, 1968b). Therefore, it can be seen as the attempt to

redefine the normative aspect (rules and norms) of the institution through the cognitive pillar (framing of the situation), which, due to the closeness of the setting, allows only a few resources. Nevertheless, the idea of the renegotiation of the self and identity implies a different understanding of the agency of the inmates (Scott, 2010), who should not be thought to be completely powerless and dominated in the institution. Although the experience of an inmate in a total institution is often understood as negative for the self, within institutions that belong to the fourth group (see below) this is not always the case. In fact, the outcome of the experience depends on the use of the resources and power that can be placed at the service of the individuals, for example, if the keepers are teachers, they may want to teach rather than repress and inhibit the inmates (Glouberman, 1990).

Goffman divides total institutions into five approximate groups (Goffman, 1968a: 5):

- I. Institutions established to care for people felt to be both harmless and incapable, such as orphanages.
- II. Places established to care for people felt to be incapable of looking after themselves and a threat to the community, such as mental hospitals.
- III. Institutions organised to protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers to it, with the welfare of the people thus sequestered not the immediate issue, such as jails.
- IV. Institutions purportedly established to better pursue some work-like tasks and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds, such as ships.
- V. Establishments designed as retreats from the world even while often serving also as training stations for the religious, such as convents.

This research considers the fourth category. In fact, even though the object of research is a sailing school, it is considered a sort of ship. The work-like tasks could be considered those related to how the life is organised as if the

school was a ship and which are justified by the instrumental ground of teaching sailing and what is related to it. In fact, the explicit aim of the school is to replicate life on a boat while on land: “Life at the base is organised as life on a boat” (www.centrovelicocaprera.it). Given this explicit aim of the setting, the need to obtain a native perspective on the different dynamics and the previous research that addressed boats as total institutions (Zurcher, 1965), this particular category seemed appropriate. In the analysis and discussion of the results, some evolutions of this notion are also considered. In fact, in recent years, some authors have rethought the notion of total institution by reconsidering some aspects of the original concepts, such as the voluntary participation (Scott, 2011). Scott’s (2011) reinterpretation of it is revisited in the chapter related to the school as an institution.

2.4. Status and Roles

The concepts of status and role seem relevant to the research because of the importance they hold in relation to the behaviour in the setting and its apparent ‘total’ characteristics. Every person in the setting has a *status*, such as pupil, helper or instructor, and according to this his/her behaviour changes considerably. Every person has a *status* also related to the course in which he/she participates. The former is given by institution while the latter is earned, learnt and determined by the dynamics of the course which everyone participates in. The different intertwinement of these different *statuses* and roles seems to have an important part in experiencing the setting.

Since the earliest human societies, social roles and social positions associated with a certain set of obligations, responsibilities and expectations have been part of everyday life (Massey, 2002). The notions of *status* and role have been widely used by different sociologists (Lopata, 1995). The

origins of these concepts can be traced to Linton's (1936) *The Study of Man* which can be considered a starting point. The word *status* derives from the Latin word for 'standing' (Turner, 1988); and according to Linton, this term can be used with a double significance. On the one hand, *status*, in the abstract, is a position that someone holds in a particular pattern. On the other hand, since people can have different positions in different patterns, the *status* of any individual can be defined as the sum total of all the *statuses* that the individual occupies. Therefore, from this standpoint *the status* is the position "*with relation to total society*" (Linton, 1936: 113). This second significance given to the notion of *status* can also be defined as the *status-set* (Macionis and Plummer, 1998); (Taylor, 1999). From all of these *statuses*, *status* inconsistency might arise when an individual occupies several *statuses* that are not compatible with each other. The *status* can be defined as a position within the social structure by which an individual is evaluated according to various ascribed and achieved criteria, subjectively or objectively, by reference to prestige and honour (Parsons, 1970). Practically, the *status* can be seen as a collection of rights and duties that derive from the position occupied (Linton, 1936).

If the *status* can be defined as something static, since it represents a position within the social structure, the dynamic aspect of it is considered to be the role (Linton, 1936). Hence, performing a role means putting in action those rights and duties that belong to a *status*, a behaviour. Therefore, roles and *status* are irretrievably connected but deeply differentiated by the more dynamicity of the latter in contrast to the former. According to Gross (1958) there are two other major definitions of role besides the first one used initially by Linton (1936). Some authors consider role as an individual's definition of his situation with reference to his and others' social position. Sargent (Rohrer and Sherif, 1951) defines a person's role as "a pattern or type of social behaviour which seems situationally appropriate to him in terms of the demand and expectations of those in his group". Following this

definition, the role is defined mainly by three aspects: a cultural, a personal and a situational determination. These separate aspects cooperate in the definition of roles and in their performance and each of them can never be completely overcome by the others.

Role theory, the use of the notion of role applied to the study and explanation of the social order, has also been criticised and reconsidered from different perspectives (Biddle, 1986). The major criticisms surround its lack of accuracy in describing human behaviour in relation to reifying ideologies and making them universal, placing greater emphasis on conformity, partially ignoring the socialisation process, and not properly addressing agency (Jackson, 1998). In relation to these, a strong critique derives from Garfinkel's Ethnomethodology (1954). In fact, Garfinkel rejects the idea of normative and behavioural patterns based on predetermined notions and knowledge (Heritage, 2013), and therefore, among other concepts, also the one of roles. Garfinkel is generally critical towards rule-governed models of human conduct and does not consider norms or rule as something that guides, regulates and determines the conduct of actors in a predefined way. Roles cannot be considered as something that explains the social order since they are based on predetermined codes of action. Norms, on which roles are based, are "reflexively constitutive of the activities and unfolding circumstances to which they are applied" (Heritage, 2013: 109). A situation cannot be generalised but it is tied to the context (indexicality) and refers only to itself while constituting the reality (reflexivity). If the use of roles to explain a situation can be seen as a generalisation, Garfinkel's thought is based on an opposite perspective constituted by local contingencies. A situation is transformable and it is "identified as the reflexive product of the organised activities of participants ... it is on-goingly discovered, maintained and altered" (Heritage, 2013: 132).

In considering the notion of role, with its limitations, and its use as benchmark concept, it is important to consider the setting of the research.

The CVC can be considered a hierarchical social system which is pre-planned, task-oriented and a strongly ordered environment. Those who attend it are put and fit into predetermined positions that are part of the more general organisation of life created by the structure of the school. I will be arguing that such behaviours conform to its norms, rather than displaying a strongly 'situational' character. Similar institutions or organisation have often been studied also through role theory and belong to the stream of 'Organisational Role Theory' (Biddle, 1986: 73). Although this approach still has limitations, like limiting the study to the default roles of the organisation and precluding the study of other roles not based on such expectations, its general application to similar contexts can be used to justify the recurrence to the notion of roles and statuses.

While considering these elements, the notion of roles has been understood based on Davis' (1959) work, whose definition seems to limit the problems related to this notion and also allows for expanding the study of these positions over the boundaries of the organisational roles. According to Davis, in the definition of roles, there is no need to refer to normative or behavioural patterns based on the expectation or obligation that an actor is supposed to fulfil. In fact, the role is the way in which an actor actually performs in a given position without considering what he/she is supposed to do. Three common and basic ideas seem to compose these social phenomena. Roles are understood as behaviours which happen in social locations with reference to different expectations. Behaviour refers to the actions undertaken by actors and a social location is the position which an actor, or a group of actors, hold in a system of social relations, while expectations are the evaluative standards applied to an incumbent of a position.

In the development of the research, the concept of role has been considered related to this definition and related to the notion of *status* as a collection

of rights and duties which derive from a position held by an actor in relation to the school's social structure.

2.5. Time: Routine, Ritual and Rites of Passage

According to Adam (1990), the relationship between time and social theory has been discontinuous and highly ambiguous. Time is something that permeates all aspects of social experiences and practices and becomes an inescapable dimension (Munn, 1992). Kant, Plotinus, Saint Augustin, Kierkegaard, Bergson, Husserl, Heidegger and many philosophers have dealt with the question of time although they have often disagreed about how to analyse it (Adam, 2004). However, time has also been studied in the social sciences (Adam, 2004); in particular, Marx (1857) and Weber (2012) analysed it from an economical perspective and regarded time as a quantitative resource, even if they did not address it directly. Durkheim (1912), who treated time and space as categories on their own, looked at time from a more qualitative aspect and thought that it was collectively constructed.

Adam (2006) views the relationship with time essential for considering everything that may fall under the name of culture. Given this relationship between time and the human cultural aspects, it can be assumed that time also has a certain importance in relation to subcultural aspects.

The concepts of routine and ritual seem particularly important in the setting of this study, given the importance that time has in it. Frequenters come to the school already knowing how long they will stay – normally one or two weeks. During the stay, every moment is controlled and based on the everyday routine which might change the perception of the place. The routine and its particular moments appear to have an essential role in how the setting is experienced and they apply to every member of the school

equally. Furthermore, every course has a sort of schedule or outline of the different sailing topics that need to be covered in the courses. Moreover, some of these moments appear to be particularly significant during the stay and they assume a completely different relevance and meaning.

Routine, in general, can be difficult to define, given the personalised and individualised meaning that this notion carries. Every organisation, family or institution might have a completely different idea of the meaning and significance of this term that can only be applied within that setting and its characteristics (Spagnola and Fiese, 2007). What can be thought of as a general characterisation of this concept is that routines are “repeated over time, with little interaction (or negotiation) and can be directly and clearly observed by an outsider” (Spagnola and Fiese, 2007:10). What appears to deeply differentiate routine from rituals is the role they have during interactions (Diehl and McFarland, 2012). On the one hand, the requirement of routine renders the interaction into repetitive and predictable configurations based on an agreement of ‘what is going on here’ (Goffman, 1975), therefore there is a clear aim for stability. On the other hand, the requirement of rituals refers to the ratification of valued identities (Goffman, 1982), therefore the aim is focused on concord. Routine and ritual also appear to be differentiated by the different meaningfulness and reflexive attitude of the latter in contrast to the former.

Defining rituals can generate even more difficulties given the greater complexity of the concept and its connection to its original social setting. The term ritual derives from the Latin word *ritus* which normally refers to formalised and repeated activities with a religious character and based on symbols (Mazurkiewicz, 2012). This term has given birth to a variety of definitions (McLaren, 1984). Rituals have been an object of study for different social disciplines and they have, in general, been approached using three different theoretical approaches (Kreinath et al., 2006). Firstly, the approaches that apply to a particular theoretical framework, such as

aesthetic, cognition, ethology and others. Secondly, those approaches which address particular fields of scholarly discourse, such as action, gender and performance. Finally, approaches that considered ritual on its own terms as a structured whole, such as relationality and virtuality. In the development of rituals, every person plays a particular role that determines their actions and their behaviours; moreover, certain rituals directly affect certain roles (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Within the sociology of sport, according to Goodger (1986), rituals serve a double purpose. On the one hand, rituals support the shared aspects within group life. On the other hand, they also sustain the internal division especially related to *status*. Therefore, rituals can be seen as consensual or differentiating depending on which aspect they highlight. Within some teams and especially in some sports, rituals are also very connected to the authority as they help to maintain the hierarchy and the power structure by highlighting the differences between the experts and the 'rookies' (Waldron and Kowaiski, 2009). For example, certain rituals highlight a different *status* among the people who participate in them. At the CVC, on the last night before pupils leave, some courses celebrate their stay through songs or plays. This ritual could differentiate those who are considered novices from those who are considered more experts but it also bonds them together. Moreover, instructors do not usually take part in this ritual, since they hold a different *status* from the pupils.

The difficulties and the overlapping in the definition of ritual can be partially solved by recurring to a polythetic class definition instead of a nomothetic-Aristotelian class which occurs only if each member of a class has all the characteristics defining the class as a whole and those characteristics are possessed by all of the members. On the contrary, a polythetic class definition occurs when each member has an unspecified number of a set of characteristics occurring in a class as a whole and each of those characteristics is possessed by a large number of the members (Kreinath et al., 2006). In the development of this research, the notion of ritual is based

on different characteristics. Formalism can be considered the first characteristic; it pushes different actors into defined roles and, as a consequence, into specific ways of acting. The body assumes differing degrees of importance depending on the degree of formality expressed. The second characteristic is traditionalism and this results in the near-perfect repetition of activities throughout time. Various theories emphasise the relation this aspect has with power and authority (Bell, 1997). The third aspect is invariance, seen as a disciplined set of actions marked by repetition and physical control. Invariance has the purpose of subordinating individuals and is contingent to a sense of encompassing and enduring. The fourth characterisation is rule-governance in terms of formulated norms that are imposed on the chaos of everyday life. This idea has led some commentators to think of sport in general as a form of ritual due to its normativity, the personal gratification obtained by the individual and the social need for the community (Birrell, 1981). The fifth characteristic is sacral symbolism; applying to activities which are connected to supernatural beings and which demonstrate sacredness through their activities. The latter express this sacrality through symbols of a different nature. The final characteristic can be traced in the performance, the real act of 'doing' and experiencing a ritual.

Due to these difficulties in defining rituals, every school of thought or theory has created different typologies (Durkheim, 1995; Turner, 1995; (Van Gennep, 1960). One of these typologies of rites can be traced in Van Gennep's (1960) *'The Rites of Passage'* and in Turner's (1995) *'The ritual process'*. The rite of passage accompanies every change of place, state, social position and age in groups or societies. In particular, these rituals can be divided into three phases: separation, margin and aggregation. Each phase has a particular category of rituals that characterises it: respectively, "rites of separation, transition rites and rites of incorporation" (Van Gennep, 1960, 11). During the margin or liminal (from the Latin *limen*, 'threshold') phase,

the subject undergoes a period in which he erases his previous attributes and prepares himself to gain new attributes. This phase can have a different set of attributes but, among them, the most important is the display of the *Communitas*, a term introduced by Turner (1995). During this phase, as opposed to the idea of *structure*, homogeneity, equality, absence of property, abolition of rank, and many other elements are displayed. However, an intrinsic characteristic of liminality is its transitional state. Eventually, it becomes structure when all the normal attributes reappear. In the life of the school, these processes might appear during the first few days of staying during which novices need to get used to the new routine and become part of the setting. Moreover, rituals may also mediate the process of getting used to the setting practices or to finally ratify the membership.

In conclusion, what appears to differentiate routines and rituals is the degree of significance they hold for actors. The differences regarding these two notions can be understood when looking at the social framing. The social frame, a notion originally formulated by Bateson and then developed by Goffman (Kreinath et al., 2006), is a schema of activity which also serves as a schema of interpretation of that activity. Rituals are activities that frame themselves as rituals, this means that they set themselves apart from ordinary activities by establishing a frame in which they produce their effects beyond the frame itself in space and time. In order to distinguish between these two notions, throughout the research, the use of a polythetic class definition is necessary. Moreover, this definition and its understanding will be strictly connected to the direct experience on the field and consequently the social framing of every situation and its significance.

2.6. Subculture

The rules, norms, practices and isolation of the setting appear to create a sort of alternative culture which is valid only for the period of

staying in the school. The membership of this apparent subculture is related to the participation in the courses and the learning of the spirit. This alternative subculture appears to have many ways of expression. For example, it happens quite often that pupils and also instructors are given nicknames related to physical characteristics or strange actions that happened during the week. The nicknames are also often written on the pupils' personal record and they become a sort of 'official' Caprera name. Moreover, the notion of subculture appears central given how the rules and the temporality of the setting seem to create a place with particular and special features that is also aiming to differentiate itself from everyday life and any other experiences.

The Chicago School developed the first conceptualisation of the notion of subculture starting from its aim to create a human ecology. According to this school, crime and poverty were the products of the social environment rather than psychological failings, and deviance could be seen as a symptom of social inequality. Therefore, subcultural studies could only exist in the context of larger social arrangements (Haenfler, 2014).

The Birmingham School also recognised the importance of the notion of subculture after World War II. The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) carried out many pieces of research regarding the explosion of youth subcultures in the UK. The CCCS mainly focused on the variety of middle-class groups that developed through exposure to pop culture and alternative ideas brought by television, music and films. From this perspective, social class gained a central position in subcultural studies (Haenfler, 2014). These subcultural displays were considered a form of resistance to the cultural domination created by capitalist society. In the evolution of society, this idea of subculture overemphasised the role of social class and started to romanticise and glorify every youth style or behaviour (Atkinson and Wilson, 2002). Moreover, society evolved by entering the postmodern era in which a more fragmented and fluid amalgam did not help in identifying resistant

or mainstream patterns. Consumption gained an important role by creating the 'supermarket of styles' (Haenfler, 2014: 10) in which boundaries were even less clear.

After the CCCS, the study of subculture underwent a shift toward the 'post-subcultural studies', which gathered momentum and importance during the 1990s (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003). Within this field there are two identifiable strands. The first strand pursued a change of the theoretical framework to analyse the new subcultural phenomena. The new theoretical frameworks were based mainly on the work of three authors (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003): Bourdieu (1984), Butler (2006) and Maffesoli (1996). The most relevant for this research appears Thornton's (1996) concept of 'subcultural capital' which, starting from Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, involved a series of distinctions or authenticity claims within the culture and was valuable by virtue of its exclusivity. In fact, it was fundamental for the subculture to prevent any appropriation of the capital from the 'mass' and to always demonstrate a distinction from the mainstream culture. Identities could be thought of as dynamic, brought into being, constructed and replayed through every action (Evans, 1997), for instance through the use of nicknames (Poliakov, 2011).

In more recent years, the notion of subculture has been traced back to what is considered to be the 'cultural turn' (Chaney, 1994), a move in sociological theory in which the idea of culture became a "soft resource for the description of meaningful human action without having to accept the responsibility of causality" (Jenks, 2005: 2). Since the concept of culture had been addressed from different perspectives (Sackmann, 1992), the multiple meanings that culture gained enabled cultural studies to create different notions and aspects of the culture itself. Therefore, any definition of subculture must be grounded in the broader idea of culture (Young and Atkinson, 2008), given how the definition of the former is partially dependent on the definition of the latter.

In the sociology of sport, the concept of subculture has been frequently used but, within this branch, the debate about this concept has been relatively absent, perhaps because in cultural studies sport has often been ignored (Wheaton, 2007). In the sociology of sport, this term has often been used in studies regarding a variety of sports such as horse racing (Scott, 1968), surfing (Pearson, 1979) or mountain climbers and rugby players (Donnelly and Young, 1988). Donnelly (2002) identifies three different trends that emerged in the study of subcultures in the sociology of sport. Firstly, the development of the notion of career as time spent improving in a sport. Secondly, the use of qualitative analysis to gain a better insight into the subculture. Thirdly, the meaning that people give to their activities is not the only relevant aspect, but also how sport reproduces and resists existing patterns of the dominant culture has to be considered. Resistance or marginalisation is not that important and, according to Crosset and Beal (1997), it is not necessary to prove their existence when studying potential subcultures. In fact, sports can also remain within the dominant culture, as the sailing school seems to be, given how it only aims to differentiate itself. Moreover, this idea is strictly connected to post-modern theories regarding the fragmentation of society. In the sociology of sport, the body gained a different meaning by becoming more representative in a sport subculture, being the means for the sports itself. Identity is another essential aspect of this notion since it is important for distinguishing insiders and outsiders of the subculture (Williams, 2012). In the context of the sociology of sport, the belonging to a subcultural identity is marked not only by visible or non-visible symbols, such as clothes or slang, but also by performing, 'doing' a certain sport (Wheaton, 2013). The processes that are involved in its creation and confirmation have been explored by Donnelly and Young (1988). As in cultural sociology, the idea of identity is very flexible also in the sociology of sport (Wheaton, 2013). The creation of identity can be regarded as a career composed of four different steps: pre-socialisation, selection and

recruitment, socialisation, and finally acceptance or ostracism (Donnelly and Young, 1988). The confirmation of this is related to trust in other insiders' behaviour and the use of the body, which means the practising of the sport. This introduces another fundamental aspect: space. This characterisation, first introduced by the CCCS, highlights the importance of space that becomes 'place' when occupied by people who give a particular meaning to it. This place can make possible certain subcultures, especially those related to sports that need a particular space to take place.

Clarke (1974), argued that the concept of subculture has been used in so many ways that it might have lost all its explanatory power. Therefore, it is necessary to define it while being well aware of its dynamism. In the development of the research the notion of subculture is regarded as:

A relatively diffuse social network having a shared identity, distinctive meanings around certain ideas, practices and objects, and a sense of marginalisation from or resistance to a perceived 'conventional' society (Haenfler, 2014: 16).

Subcultures may also share a specialised vocabulary, style and music, a subcultural history and a social support system. The research is more concerned with an idea of differentiation from a perceived 'conventional society', rather than marginalisation or resistance.

2.7. Power and Discipline

In relation to the field, the connection between body, power and knowledge seems relevant given the sport setting, the hierarchical structure of the place and how this hierarchy seems to be created and supported by the sailing knowledge of its members which is exercised from the beginning to the end of the pupils' stay. The body has a central role in the practice of sailing and it is through it that sailing knowledge is learnt. It appears possible to say also that the people who hold a power position have also, in relation

to the pupils, a greater knowledge and it is with this knowledge that they can partially legitimise their position. The authority that the people in the position of power hold is very much related to the discipline of the setting. Discipline seems to be fundamental both in relation to the school's aims and also in relation to the 'correct' perception of the spirit.

It is difficult to establish which type of power dominates in the setting; in general, the different power traditions can be seen from two different points of view (Scott, 2001). The first focuses on the corrective causal influence of power, particularly the use of resources as punitive or remunerative sanctions. The second focuses on the persuasive influence of power as the offering and the acceptance of reasons for acting in one way rather than another. In order to exercise power, the two influences rely on to four different types of elementary forms of power: the corrective influence relies on force and manipulation and the persuasive influence on signification and legitimation. Where power is structured in stable social relationships, a process of domination may arise in the social sphere. From the corrective perspective, the domination is achieved through constraint and the use of coercion and inducement; while, from the persuasive perspective, domination is achieved through the discursive formation and by the means of command and expertise. The rise of forms of domination creates forms of counteractions and forces that try to resist them. Although, throughout the present research, power is considered from the persuasive perspective due to the type of power that is found which will be best analysed by considering Foucault's theories, it is also important to keep in mind the other forms for exercising power to not force the data into an exclusively Foucauldian perspective.

In terms of persuasive influence, the work of Michel Foucault has emerged as a key approach. In his work, Foucault engaged with the relationship between power and knowledge and how power operates within what he called an institutional apparatus and its technologies (Hall, 2001). Power,

which needs freedom as an opposite to be exercised (Foucault et al., 2000), has four different principles. Firstly, it is a relation not a possession; secondly, it is largely productive and not repressive; thirdly, it can only be made sense of through its connection with forms of knowledge and discursive practices; and fourthly, it generates a form of resistance (Danaher et al., 2000). However, Foucault's understanding of power and his way of addressing this concept has been criticised. One of the most important critiques concerns the lack of agency that Foucault's system of power seems to entail (Lukes, 2004). The effectiveness that power has in the social system, which is related to its productiveness and pervasiveness, appears to make it impossible for agents to escape its effects. Individuals are not free from the positive but also negative effects of power (Hindess, 1996) and therefore Foucault undermines the role that autonomous agents could have. A second critique towards Foucault's argument regards the role of resistance. In fact, Foucault does not offer a detailed account of the resistance processes, since, according to him, resistance can be considered already part of the general discourse that surrounds power, given that this can only be exercised over free individuals (Foucault, 1982). Nevertheless, according to some authors, such as Hekman (1999), Foucault merely posits the question of resistance because of the conceptual need to include this concept in the discussion of power without properly considering it. Since the question of resistance seems interesting in the context of the CVC, I have tried to consider it more in the empirical chapter also to address this critique of Foucault's thought.

In *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Foucault introduces the notion of discipline, a new form of power born in the modern era. The object and the target of this new form of power is the body that "can be manipulated, trained [and] which obeys, responds and becomes skilful and increases its forces" (Foucault, 1979: 136). Before being shaped and changed, the body has to be made submissive and docile. The effect of discipline and of docile bodies increases the utility of bodies while decreasing the ability of these bodies to

resist (Bowdridge and Blenkinsop, 2011). Discipline is established and maintains control through hierarchical observation, normalisation of judgement and examination (Foucault, 1979: 170-191). The hierarchical observation coerces by the means of a continuous observation. It is necessary that the people who are being watched experience the feeling of being constantly observed, preferably by someone unseen. For example, in outdoor and experiential education this can be obtained through multiple levels of supervision, certification systems, different types of structures and the reduced pupil-teacher ratio (Bowdridge and Blenkinsop, 2011). The normalisation of judgement works not only for creating systems which individualise and create docile bodies, but also to prescribe what is acceptable. Therefore, through this process, norms are established and learnt by the individuals. Finally, the examination system creates a field of documentation that can be used for comparison and also establishes a normalised judgment.

Discipline is then created by three different combined elements: firstly, the focus on the individual; secondly, making the individual productive; and finally supervising its duration, location and trajectory. Therefore, discipline is the combination of theoretical and practical attempts to make the body docile and more useful. Foucault elaborates the idea of it in the modern world through four different elements. The first element regards the 'art of distribution' (Foucault, 1979: 141-149); therefore, the distribution of individuals in space. This art can be divided into four different techniques: the enclosure of people, their partitioning, the creation of functional sites and the rank established in the space. This technique in general can be defined as cellular. The second element involves the 'control of activities' (Foucault, 1979: 149-156), which can be regarded as composed of five different elements: the establishment of a timetable which decides the rhythm of the activities, the temporal elaboration of the act, the correlation between the body and gestures, the articulation of the body-objects

relationship and the exhaustive use of time correlated to the 'principle of non-idleness'. These five techniques compose the organic element. The third element is tied with the human development and is 'the organisation of geneses' (Foucault, 1979: 156-162). As for the other elements, different techniques compose the genetic element: the division of time in successive segments, the creation of an analytical plan to organise the segments, an exam at the end of the segment and finally a role and a range of exercises connected to the rank obtained in the exam. Lastly the fourth element, the combinatory, involves the 'composition of forces' (Foucault, 1979: 162-167): the body is made to be a segment in the social machine, time is modified to work as a machine and the creation of systems and signals to use for articulating the general system.

Similarly to his conception of power, Foucault's notion of disciplinary power has been criticised, especially in relation to institutions. Foucault uses Bentham's panopticon as a leading image of its conception of such power and to highlight the capillarity of power, yet it is through this image that he has been criticised (Alford, 2000). The effectiveness of the panopticon and the way in which power works within its boundaries are not considered accurate, since there is no trace of them in most prisons (Alford, 2000). The critical theoretical point that is then deduced is that Foucault mistakes the discourse and the practice (Garland, 1990), the ideology for the practice (Alford, 2000). The way in which he considers, for example penitentiary institutions, is biased by this mistake, and even the panopticon and how he analyses it can be criticised. For example, according to Semple (1993), the panopticon was not about discipline as a performance but it was more of a spectacle, a stage or theatre, a characterisation that in *Discipline and Punish* is lost.

While the general critiques of disciplinary power and power in general should be considered, I believe that the relevance of Foucault's thought for the research lies in three elements. The first is the relationship that the body,

power and knowledge have. This relationship is fundamental and “mutually constitutive” (Haugaard, 2002: 181) in Foucault’s reflections and highlights the role that command and expertise have. The non-absoluteness of the concept of power in general emphasises the need for understanding the circumstances in which body, power and knowledge are considered. For example, power and discipline, within pedagogy, can be seen as an instrument to reproduce and legitimise the hierarchy and the dominant cultural capital and knowledge, or in a complete opposite sense, as an instrument used to empower people to free them and to emancipate them (Hayward, 2000). The second is the both indirect and direct influence that Foucault has on the sociology of sport (Rail and Harvey, 1995). The indirect influence is related to the impact that his theories have had on sociology in general and on theories used also by sports sociologists, like cultural studies. The direct influence, instead, impacted on the status of the body that was put in the centre of the research questions in the sociology of sport. Within the direct influences, there are four different research groups that used Foucault’s theories differently and by focusing on different elements. This research in particular belongs to the third stream that integrates the notion of surveillance, power, discipline and gaze. In fact, these three concepts are fundamental in the analysis of power of the CVC. Thirdly, Foucault aims to produce a ‘micro-physic of power’ with his analysis (Lukes, 2004; Markula and Pringle, 2006). The use of his concepts and ideas is limited to a very narrow setting (the school) and is not aiming to create a more generalised explanation of social power, something that seems to be an important element which the different critiques are based on. Focusing on a narrower context could help in limiting and addressing some of the critiques and problems with his concepts.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

This chapter explains the research methods that have been used to explore and study the CVC. It initially focuses on the reasons for choosing the ethnographic method before discussing the participant observation, interviews and rationale behind each method. It then discusses the access to the field, the data collection process and the analysis. I also address the issues related to the problems, challenges and limitations of the study. Finally, it focuses on the ethical issues and problems related to the research.

3.1. The Method

3.1.1. Choosing a Method

The researcher used a qualitative approach based on an ethnography. The reason for this choice is due to the possibility that qualitative methodologies, and ethnographies in particular, give to gain access to social life from the perspective of the participants. The general aim of ethnographies is to gain and obtain a holistic point of view of a studied situation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 1-3). The need to understand the setting from the participants' perspective, or the insider point of view (Atkinson, 2012), has been one of the primary objectives of the research. The need to gain an empathetic understanding of the setting by actively participating in the practices, events and life of the people involved in the school has been fundamental for the comprehension of the spirit and how it is created. Moreover, qualitative methods offer the possibility to make focused and detailed descriptions of the setting and to describe a phenomenon both from a micro as well as a macro point of view (Blaikie, 2009; Bryman, 2012; (May, 2002). The former being specific aspects of it

while the latter more general ones. However, ethnography as a research method is not without its pitfalls or controversies. The primary criticism that ethnography faces is related to the reliability, framed in terms of repeatability and validity, of its findings, since the representation that an author gives of a setting is often seen to be too personal and not scientific (Atkinson, 2012). Ethnography provides a representational account of a particular culture during a specific time period (Atkinson, 2012). It is important to remember and underline the relation that this method has with time, space and the studied culture.

3.1.2. Participant Observation

Bronislaw Malinowski stated that the purposes of participating in the studied practices could be found in two different aspects: firstly, the need to understand phenomena from a native point of view and secondly to create as little disturbance as possible in the setting. Within ethnographic studies, the social world is seen as the outcome of the interaction of actors within a setting (O'Reilly, 2009: 150-151). This research mostly relied on participant observation since the need to understand and explore the setting in which sport is performed is essential. Both participating and observing have been fundamental to properly understand the setting.

In exploring a setting by participating and observing, a researcher needs to manage two different roles that share an oxymoronic relationship: the role of the participant, therefore an insider who actively participates in the practices, and the role of the observer, consequently an outsider, who tries to separate himself from the insiders. Two different sets of actions derive from the two roles. On the one hand, there is the need to become part of the community, to learn how to act and behave and to be accepted in the group. On the other hand, the researcher has to travel in the opposite direction and try to achieve a removal from the setting itself. The

relationship between the ethnographer and the population of the setting is essential and it is often considered and addressed as an issue between the 'Self' and the 'Other' (Sands, 2002). Gold (1958) explores and discusses the different roles that a researcher can cover while carrying out an ethnography and he identifies four different roles: the 'complete participant', the 'participant-as-observer', the 'observer-as-participant' and the 'complete observer'. Among these, the 'participant-as-observer' is the one that I have played in the research. This role is very similar to the complete participant role, the role normally played when using covert methods, but it differs in terms of the mutual awareness that the researcher and the researched have of their relationship. The awareness helps to eliminate the deception of playing two roles at the same time and increases the chances to create a better and more fruitful relationship. This role is used frequently in studies of communities where, in time, a relationship is created. However, the major risk for this role is jeopardising the relationship if an informant becomes too identified with the observer and if the researcher 'goes native' and loses the researcher perspective and the final goal. The aim of this role is to interact in the most natural way as possible with the people in the setting but to still maintain the role of the observer and the participant selectively separate. I will discuss more in depth in the reflexivity section the consequences and problems related to playing and maintaining this role.

3.1.3. Semi-Structured Formal Interviews

Ethnography does not rely on just one method but on several: participant observations can be supported by interviews (O'Reilly, 2012). Moreover, the ethnographic understanding of cultures is developed through a close exploration of several sources of data (Atkinson, 2012). Therefore,

the research did not solely rely on observing and participating but also on interviewing some participants in a different setting.

Connected to the role the researcher has to play there is another issue to consider. Before entering a field, a researcher has to think about the degree of flexibility of his/her role. Indeed, when in the field, he/she will be mainly connected to his/her role of participant and observer, and his/her freedom will be partially limited. The role will not only limit to a certain extent the movements of the researcher in the field, but also prevent him/her from asking for clarification every time he/she feels it is necessary (Cardano, 2001). The degree of flexibility during this research will be quite high; due to the instructor role, only few places will be inaccessible, for instance the pupils' dormitories. The use of these interviews has to be considered as a secondary tool (O'Reilly, 2012). The reasons for adopting this secondary research method can be traced to the need for an in-depth analysis and also to the need to obtain different points of view (O'Reilly, 2009) on the particularities and characteristics of the processes and of the spirit. Moreover, the interviews have been strictly connected to my reflexivity in the research, especially by encouraging reflections about it. The role that I have been able to play during the interviews has also allowed me to make enquiries related to aspects that I could not tackle during the fieldworks because of the restraints related to my role. The interviews helped me discover unexpected and unknown themes that did not emerge from the participant observation as well as clarifying other aspects. Therefore, the interviews have helped the research in two distinct ways. On the one hand, they have contributed to the analysis of the concepts that were informing the study and to exploring other themes. On the other hand, they have been extremely useful in challenging my impressions from the participant observation and to investigate how other frequenters felt in a more in-depth way.

The interviews were formal and semi-structured. 'Formal' refers to the setting of the interviews, since they were conducted outside the school and with the intention of creating a different atmosphere. They were semi-structured to allow the respondents to give their personal account of the places and to help the narrative and the natural flow of the conversation. The main themes and topics that I raised during the interviews were decided based on the experiences of the participant observation and on the theoretical concepts that informed the study. Every major topic or aspect was introduced with a very broad question to which the respondent could answer as they pleased and for as long as they wanted³. When they mentioned an interesting take or interpretation I would then ask a more precise question based on what they said. The semi-structured interviews could also be considered ethnographic interviews. According to Heyl (2001), this type of interview is characterised by the time factor, duration and contact frequency, and by the quality of the relationship that has developed in the field. In fact, the sample, which I will discuss more in depth in the following sections, has been created based on the relationship created or reinforced in the field.

It is also important to mention that, during the fieldwork, and especially during the rare moments of free time or meals, I was able to ask some questions or in general to ask for clarification about certain behaviours. Given the overt nature of the research, asking brief and informal question was not problematic, since the respondent were always aware of the double role I was playing. These chats have been totally unstructured and the questions were framed within normal conversation.

³ See Appendix: Interview structure

3.1.4. Gaining Access

The access to the field was obtained thanks to my previous engagement at the CVC. I have been attending the school for about ten years during which I covered all the different sailing levels until I became a dinghy instructor in 2011. Initially, I informed personally, through letters, the authorities (the secretary-general, the executive committee and the directing committee) of the school about the research and its aims. In particular, I was in contact a couple of times with the secretary-general, by informing him of the study at the very beginning of the first period of fieldwork and then to confirm my intentions about the second period. There have also been a couple of other moments of contact, which I explain in the data collection section. After this first contact, in order to gain access to the field, I had to go through the school's usual process.

The access to the field can be considered to be on two different levels. The first level deals with the people who control or manage the school from the outside, therefore without being in the field. The gatekeeper, understood as "a person that controls the access to a research setting" (Gilbert, 2008: 508), that I dealt with was the CVC secretary. Since the activity of the instructors is done on a voluntary basis, it is necessary to communicate to the CVC secretary the periods of the seasons during which an instructor is available for teaching. The CVC secretary manages the requests and eventually confirms the period indicated by the instructor and they allocate them to a course, which however might then not be the same once arrived at the school. Since I was entering the field as an instructor I also had to deal with this mechanism to have access. The relationship with the external gatekeepers has been quite limited even if still important as I explain later.

The second level of gatekeeping that I encountered is the person who controls and manages the instructors in the field. This person is the 'Head of the School' (HS) and he is in charge of all the important decisions in the field,

including deciding the teams of the instructors for the courses. Once the instructors arrive in the field, they are officially allocated to a course that does not necessarily match the one that they have originally been allocated to. The teams are put together according to different criteria and variables related to their experience and personal skills as well. The HS knows every instructor personally and, based on this knowledge, he creates teams that, according to him, could deliver a better course. Therefore, while in the field, every one or two weeks I was assigned to a new course which partially depended on my will. I was not assigned to an initiation course every week as my intentions had been, therefore this process partially influenced the data collection. Even though the HS had been already informed of my double role and the research in December 2014, in some cases he did not 'accommodate' my course requests and this in certain situations was quite problematic.

3.1.5. Data Collection and Timing

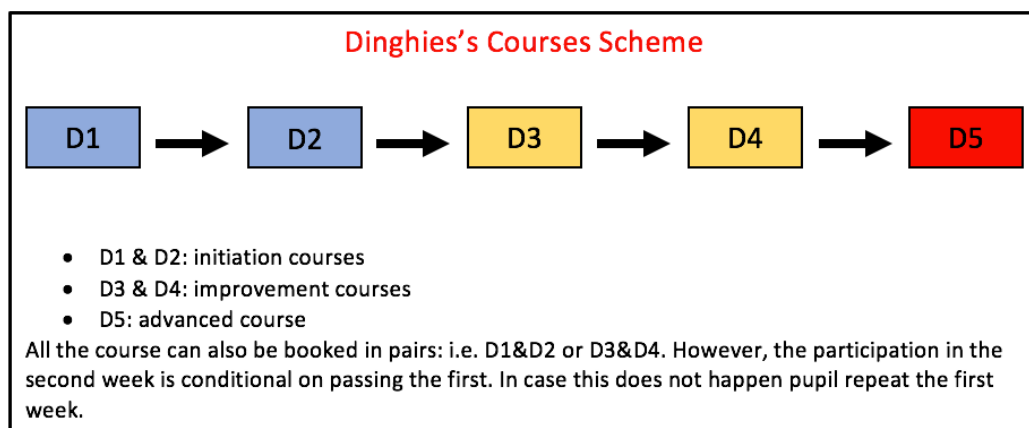
The research was undertaken on the island of Caprera during a total period of eighteen weeks, divided in two parts both during the months of June, July and August of 2015-2016 and that I also divided into two sections. Given the type of life at the school and how exhausting it is I believed that at least a week in between the different sections would help me stay focused and rested. The first part of fieldwork took place in 2015 from the 6th of June to the 11th of July and from the 18th of July to the 29th of August. In 2016, fieldwork was done from the 11th of June until the 9th of July and finally from the 30th of July to the 27th of August. The reasons for choosing to divide the fieldwork into two main distinct parts have a practical explanation and a more theoretical one. Regarding the first, it is important to understand that the school is normally open from April to mid-October but the three summer months are the most frequented and almost, if not, fully booked. Therefore,

I thought that experiencing the school in the moments of its full capacity would provide a more complete account of the setting and its practices. Moreover, because of the greater number of frequenters, the chances to participate or witness interesting moments could increase. The second and theoretical reason was related to the exploratory nature of the research. Being able to have some time for a primary analysis between the periods of fieldwork could allow me to improve, correct or shape some of the theoretical concepts as well as the focus of the interviews or the following participant observation. Having time to properly reconsider some aspect of the research in between the data collection periods was important especially thanks to the interviews. In fact, when I entered the field for the second summer, I focused more on certain aspects that I did not properly consider in the first period of fieldwork which did, however, strongly emerge in the interviews. In the same view, I also did not put the same emphasis on other aspects, on which I still kept an eye on, since by that time I considered them to be quite clear and to have gathered sufficient data.

During fieldwork, I worked as one of the dinghies instructors. I was in charge of different courses during the season. I was able to mainly focus my participant observation on the one-week and two-weeks 'initiation courses' (D1 & D2) which are normally reserved for the novices and people who have very little, if any, sailing experience. The reason for choosing to focus primarily on these courses was related to my competence as an instructor and to the fact that dealing with pupils who have never been socialised in this setting could have allowed me to have a better understanding of the practices, their feelings and experiences. Nevertheless, because of the course allocation practice that I previously explained not everything went according to plan, especially during the first period of fieldwork. During the summer of 2015 a few happenings influenced my data collection. The first happened when the HS decided to allocate me the two-weeks Junior course. The school normally has an age requirement for its participants, who must

be at least fifteen to participate in the life. The reason for this is related to the general physical toughness of the life and also because a certain degree of independence is needed. However, there are usually three weeks in June during which the CVC organises a Junior course in which youngsters aged between eleven and fourteen can participate. These courses normally have a softer routine and also one or two caretakers that help the kids with the everyday tasks. However, the main problem that I encountered was related to the age of the participants. In fact, I had to partially suspend my participant observation and not consider anything that was happening in relation to these very young pupils, since they did not fit into the ethical parameters of the research. Another difficulty originated from being at a base of our own, as that the school wanted to protect the children from the older pupils. This prevented me from observing other courses and what was happening in general at the base. In order to do so I had to move to another base which, given the time constraints, was not ideal. Although I tried to convince the HS to not assign me to this course I did not change his mind and the only option I had was to comply. Therefore, the data I could obtain from those two weeks were quite limited given that the observation was partially suspended. The second problem I had happened during the second part of the 2015 fieldwork in August. In fact, although I was sure that I had communicated to the secretary that I was going to stay for the entire month I disappeared from the list of instructors for that particular week and so the school 'overbooked' the instructors for that week. Therefore, there was no place for me in the courses and I decided to help the paid staff of the school with their duties for that week, hoping that the next week my name would reappear in the list. I also made sure, through phone calls to the secretary and by telling the HS, that they knew that I still had three weeks of fieldwork planned. However, the next week, the same thing happened and again I was not on the list. This truly surprised me since I was already in the field and I did give them few reminders. Therefore, quite frustrated with the situation,

I decided to leave the field for that week and to come back for the last two the following Saturday. I have never been able to understand if this happened, especially in the second week, as a consequence of a general inefficiency in the school's organisational and communication mechanism or it was something more deliberate and intentional given how many weeks I had already been at the school. However, this resulted in a week mostly spent with the paid staff of the school rather than the frequenters and a lost week. Having learnt from this experience I decided to put more distance between the different weeks in the 2016 fieldwork, so that my presence would have been more diluted over time. In fact, the second period of fieldwork went much more smoothly and without any similar incidents. In total, during the two periods of fieldworks I participated in: seven D1 courses, six D2 courses, one D3 course, one D4 course, a Junior course and a week with the paid staff. Therefore, I managed to participate in a good amount of initiation courses, as I wished, but I also had to opportunity to participate in other ones that provided a different and interesting perspective.



The composition of the sample of the participant observations has been quite heterogeneous and although I did not keep a precise record of it there are some general trends that can be identified. Frequenters were all Italians, apart from one or two people, and mainly from the northern and the central parts of Italy. The age of the pupils and helpers increased during the seasons.

In fact, at the beginning of June, most of the pupils were teenagers (sixteen, seventeen) while by the end of August they were mostly young professionals in their late twenties and early thirties. The composition of the instructors was more or less the same as that of the pupils apart from age. The instructors' age was more variable throughout the periods of fieldwork and went from people in their twenties to people in their late sixties or seventies. Therefore, being in the field for the busiest period allowed for great variability and heterogeneity in the sample, since in the low season period (before June and from September) only working people can afford the time to frequent the school. The participant observation mainly took place in the biggest base of 'Punta Coda' that can host up to one hundred and fifty people and at the slipway. Nevertheless, I also spent two weeks, those with the Junior course in the 'perfezionamento' (perfecting) base and one at the yachts base during the second part of fieldwork.

During fieldwork, the main data collection tool was a notebook in which I wrote about 3 times a day (morning, afternoon and evening). The notebook was stored in a secure space but I always had a small notebook for immediate points which would then be added to the bigger notebook. Time was very tight and finding twenty minutes to write was quite a luxury, therefore, when necessary, I would also use a voice recorder otherwise I would write some quick bullet points in the main notebook and expand on them later. I personally preferred to write down everything in the notebook since I soon realized that writing down helped me with the reflexive process of taking fieldnotes and to elaborate more on what was happening (O'Reilly, 2009).

The semi-structured formal interviews took place between the first and second period of fieldwork. In total, I conducted thirteen interviews with pupils, helpers and instructors. The sample has been created after the first fieldwork experience, based on purposive criteria (Blaikie, 2009). These criteria allowed the creation of a sample that could properly fit with the

research aims. In general, the intention was to speak with people that could represent the main categories of frequenters and that had different levels of expertise in the setting. The sample has taken into consideration mainly two characteristics of the individuals: gender and their status (also partially connected to their age) at the school, therefore being pupils, helpers or instructors. All interviews, apart from one, were carried out through Skype and when possible in video call mode so we could see each other and recorded with participant authorisation. I was able to conduct only one face-to-face interview. The interviews had an average length of one hour during which the interviewees spoke for about 85% of the time and they were all carried out in Italian. The composition of the sample is the following: eight pupils composed of four males and four females and five helpers/instructors composed of three males and two females.

3.1.6. The Analysis and Validation

The analysis has been done by undertaking a thematic analysis, an analysis that moves beyond counting explicit words but focuses on a more general level on implicit and explicit ideas, called themes (Guest, 2012: 10). The reason for adopting this analysis is related to the exploratory nature of the thesis and to the need to let different themes emerge from the data. The primary concern of the thematic analysis is to present stories, events and experiences voiced by the participants or witnessed as accurately as possible and presented in themes (Guest, 2012). The use of themes can allow to connect the different experiences with one another and it is also useful in terms of letting the results emerge less artificially. Nevertheless, the question of validity and reliability still needs to be addressed. Validity has numerous definitions in social sciences but in general it is seen as the capacity of assessing what one is intending to assess (Guest, 2012). Very broadly, the term 'valid' refers to the idea of being "sound", "well-

grounded” and “defensible” (Dey, 2003: 228). The most relevant types of validity for qualitative studies are considered to be “face” and “external” validity (Guest, 2012). The former is related to the degree to which an indicator for a concept intuitively makes sense, therefore it is partially based on consensus. The latter is related to the degree to which study findings are relevant to other populations or contexts. In addition, reliability is defined in general as the consistency of the analysis. Between the two, validity is considered more important since if data are valid, they tend to be reliable as well. Moreover, in qualitative studies, reliability is often less important, given that these studies are not normally replicated being unstructured by their very nature and difficult to replicate. Therefore, it is important to consider validity and partially also reliability when considering the analysis made.

The analysis has been done in different stages according to the different steps of the data collection and with the use of a coding software (NVIVO 10). The first stage was the creation of a codebook that included the main themes related to the theoretical benchmarks that I could update. Once back from the first period of research I transcribed the fieldnotes and I carried out a rough analysis before doing the interviews. I wanted an idea of which areas to discuss in the interviews and to have a sense of what was going on in the setting. I prepared questions based on the data but also on the basis of things I could not manage to find out in the field. The interviews were carried out in a period of about three months. Each interview was recorded, transcribed and analyzed in the fastest possible way. In fact, the idea was to adjust the interviews questions, if needed, so to get the most out of them. After the transcription of the interviews, I repeated the same process of coding and updated the codebook. Finally, after the coding of the second set of fieldnotes, a year later, I reviewed everything to make sure that the coding was consistent throughout the data.

Analysis is not a distinctive part of ethnographic research but an iterative process in which data collection and data analysis are in a dialectical relationship (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Following different steps allowed me to do a better data analysis given that I could focus on different elements during different stages and then shape my observations and analysis accordingly. In fact, being some themes quite clear to me after the first period of fieldwork, I could focus more on other ones. Moreover, this process was important for data validation and confirmation even though this process in ethnographic research is sometimes contested, especially in relation with respondents' validation (Bloor, 1997; Emerson and Pollner, 1998). Fieldnotes were not shared with anybody and none of the interviewed asked to see the transcriptions to check on their answers. The data validation was achieved through the back and forth process of data collection and analysis together with the different data collection methods. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 183) refer to this process as triangulation: "the comparison of data relating to the same phenomenon but deriving from different phases of fieldwork ... or accounts of different participants differentially located in the setting". Alternating phases of data collection and analysis, constantly challenging my perspective and letting the insiders' voice emerge, I believe, helped me in understanding the quality of the data and to provide a more valid account of the setting. As suggested by many ethnographers (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; O'Reilly 2009; 2012) the analysis process has been reflexive, interpretative, creative, iterative, and has helped also with the problem of validation and data confirmation based on the results and data consistency.

Finally, the issue of data translation needs consideration since the speech of one group can become evidence of another's group project (Gal, 2015). Translating people's spoken words requires consideration since their voice is transformed (Kim, 2012). If the fieldnotes translation could be considered less problematic, given that I translated my own voice, the same cannot be

said about the interviews. The interviews and the fieldnotes were all written and carried out in Italian and only the quotes and any relevant parts have been translated into English. The reason for carrying out the interviews in Italian was based on the fact that some of the interviewed may not have been comfortable with the English language. Moreover, the use of their first language allowed them to use more appropriate terms to describe their experience and later allowed me, given the commonalities we shared also in terms of knowledge of the setting and language, to better understand the meanings (Kim, 2012). The translation has been done during the writing process, as suggested by (Nes et al., 2010; Temple and Young, 2004) so it did not effect the thematic analysis which was all done in Italian. Moreover, it has been done to be as close as possible to the original meaning not just in terms of the specific words, but also in terms of the general sense, while still bearing in mind the impossibility, in certain occasions, of exactly matching one word with another (Kim, 2012). Therefore, when necessary, to be just with what had been expressed in Italian I enriched the quote a little bit so to convey the right nuances of meaning (Nes et al., 2010) so that the reader, which must be also considered (Kim, 2012), could properly understand. Before submitting I also engaged in a process of back translation (Nes et al., 2010) so to check if the meaning was correct.

3.2. Challenges, Problems and Limitations

3.2.1. Reflexivity

The research is not without some limitations that must be properly considered. In this section, I discuss the major issues that I have encountered not only in the research but also during fieldwork. In general, these problems can be considered to be related to my reflexivity in the research. Reflexivity can be practised in many different ways and it has been an important part in the evolution of qualitative methods. In this discussion, it is considered as

“the project of examining how the researcher and intersubjective elements impact on and transform research” (Finlay and Gough, 2003: 2). The discussion focuses on three different spheres.

The first sphere deals with my biggest concern in regard to my previous implication in the school dynamics and mechanisms. In fact, I have been attending this sailing school for many years, about 10, since I first started as a pupil. My point of view is not equivalent to that of someone who is undertaking the school's procedures for the first time. It is commonly recognised that ethnographies have a very strong biographical dimension, however there is no general consensus over the appropriate amount of self-revelation and reflexivity that research needs (Coffey, 1999). Given my previous involvement in the research setting, the issue of the relationship between the ethnographer and its membership in the population of setting should be considered between *Self* and *Self* rather than *Self* and *Other* (Sands, 2002). Therefore, in the research I assume I have had two analytically separated but practically merged *Selves*. The first is related to my role as a social researcher and it is tied to the aims of my research, its theoretical framework and methodology. The second *Self* is related to my instructor role, therefore an insider that is studied in my research. This ‘conflict’ between the two different identities can be considered to be the main practical consequence of the oxymoron of the participant observation. Because of the intertwinement of the different *Selves*, I have experienced them simultaneously and I have felt part of and apart from the setting. However, it is also essential to consider the role that other people played in the setting. In fact, I was never alone and my own *self* perspective was also conditioned by other people and by what those people projected on me. My positionality and subjectivity did not depend solely on me and they were negotiated continuously with all the other people in the field (Sultana, 2007).

The tension between the Selves is part of the fieldwork process when carrying out ethnographical research. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that over-familiarity can be dangerous and problematic for the researcher, since it can cause a serious lack of analytical power (Coffey, 1999). In general, the process over-familiarity is recognised and addressed with the expression 'going native'. Nevertheless, the problematic of 'going native', in the case of this research, I believe, must be considered differently. The starting point of the notion of 'going native' is based on the fact that the researcher starts as an outsider, a position that I did not hold during the research. The distinction between insider and outsider, especially when in the field, has been hazy and undefined. Moreover, in general, I have also been part of the research, since I was both subject and object. The first goal as an ethnographer is to understand the setting, and when the researcher is observing and participating in the field he/she is also part of it. How an ethnographer experiences the field is based on the interactions and relationships that he/she shares with the participants. The reciprocity is crucial and good ethnographic practice is based upon genuine empathy, participation and trust (Coffey, 1999). When approaching the field, a native researcher possesses an emic rather than etic perspective (Kanuha, 2000). The emic perspective suggests a subjective, informed and influential standpoint, while etic suggests a distant and logical standpoint, removed from the setting. The difficulties in being native result in the effort that an ethnographer needs to make to distance him/herself from his/her standpoints. During the entire research process, I constantly tried to actively negotiate my position and cultivate my extraneousness (Coffey, 1999). This negotiation was possible through active practices of constantly questioning my own perception or asking people how they understood a certain moment. I always tried not to assume that, even if an insider, I already possessed an intimate knowledge of the particular and situated experiences of the participants (Kanuha, 2000).

Nevertheless, considering the insider role only as something negative or dangerous would be a mistake. When pondering the position of an insider, it is important to reflect on some of the beneficial consequences that could derive from it, especially in a setting where the practice of a sport is central. In fact, my previous engagement has allowed me to gain a more immediate understanding of some situations. Moreover, given the centrality that performing a sport has in this setting I was already used to some of the technical language and the practices. Therefore, to a very small extent, I was able to be a sort of key informant for myself. Furthermore, being an insider and already having relationships with some of the people in the setting allowed me to have easier access to different opinions, ideas and meanings (Coffey, 1999). However, dealing with friends as informants is something that I have carefully taken into consideration (Tillmann-Healy, 2003). Friends tend to be considered in such a way because they confirm our impressions, ideas and conceptions. Therefore, relying only on informants that are friends could have been dangerous. Every relationship in the field was considered to be related both to the personal sphere as well as to the professional sphere. Consequently, every relationship was characterised by a certain degree of reality and falsehood which belong to the ethnographic experience (Coffey, 1999), given that the reasons for the creation of these relationships are tied both to the normal interactions as well as to the research that takes place.

In general, my position at the school during the research was both internal and external. Robert Merton (1972) deals with the problem of internal and external positions, insiders and outsiders in research. Merton (1972) reports and explains the 'doctrine of the insider' according to which only an insider can have a true understanding and awareness of the symbols of a group. Outsiders, according to this doctrine, have a structural incapacity to comprehend alien groups, whereas insiders have a privileged access to social 'truth'. In the development of this research, according to the 'doctrine of the

insider', being already part of this environment could be seen as the only way in which it is possible to fully understand its dynamics. However, being an outsider can also help in a different way. Being totally new to an environment can give a different point of view. Merton suggests that what is needed is an intermediate position. In the development of this research, being an insider can provide relevant advantages, but this fact must be always taken into consideration. Throughout the entire research, I tried to be in the position of an 'Insider as "Outsider"' (Merton, 1972: 30). Therefore, I assumed an intermediate position that allowed me to benefit from both positions.

The second sphere of problems and limitations considers the power relations that have arisen during fieldwork and the interviews (Munro et al., 2004). The analysis of the power position can be divided in three separate, but still connected, areas. The first area concerns my power position as a social researcher. In fact, even if the separation and dichotomy between the researcher and the participant is not very clear, a difference between the two roles is still identifiable and created by the fact of being open about this double role. The second concern is related to the power position that I hold at the school as an instructor. The fact that have guided new people in what is called the 'spirit of Caprera' could have created the problem of a self-fulfilling prophecy. The people who have participated in the courses have been observed and have learnt might have been influenced by my idea of the place that I then observed from their behaviours. Therefore, it is possible that by enacting what I was telling them to do I could have observed my previous conceptions and ideas about the place and its dynamics. However, due to the close intertwining between the different courses and the fact that I have always collaborated with at least one person of staff, apart from only one course, I believe that this aspect has been mitigated and considerably reduced. In fact, staying in contact with other courses, led by other instructors and working with other instructor meant moderating certain

aspects and also finding good comprises. My power position also needs to be thought in relation to the hierarchy of the school in which I did not hold the highest position. Everything that I was doing or implementing in my courses was controlled by the HS and other figures of the school. Anything considered not appropriate or not beneficial for the school would have been changed. Finally, the third power position concern is related to my general role of being an insider regardless of being an instructor. I possess some knowledge of the place, its dynamics, geography, permitted behaviours and mechanisms from my previous experiences. Therefore, not only has the sailing/hierarchical position been considered but also the one related to being a member of the community. For example, I already knew the schedule or some of the implicit norms. It is finally important to mention how some of these power positions have changed in relation to the research methods. In particular, during the participant observation these three positions were merged together, while during the interviews, since they took place outside the participant observation on the island, the first and third probably had a greater impact.

The last and third sphere in which to consider the problems and limitations of the research regards the data collection process. The CVC is open from April until October but being in the field during the three most crowded summer months could have influenced some of the data, since perhaps other periods of the year could have revealed different dynamics. The extended period of time that I have spent in the field could also influence my awareness and clear mind in observing the courses and the life. Some precautions have been taken to minimise these consequences of the fieldwork due to the physically and mentally demanding life of the CVC. Lastly, the interview sample has been obtained through a purposive approach where my understanding of the place, the availability of people to be interviewed and even my own thought of what they had to communicate played an important role. A different approach to sampling or a different

sample could have led to different data, although I believe that the sample has been quite representative.

Even if all these different spheres have been considered analytically separate, they are all part of my subjectivity and reflexivity in the research. It would be a mistake to consider them only in relation to the fieldwork since my reflexivity has probably affected also my research questions, my research methods, my theoretical framework and the analysis of the data. However, considering the inevitability of it, an awareness of it is the only possible and best solution to these problems. Being an insider is something that cannot be changed or erased but it can be challenged. Ethnographic fieldwork is an active practice and being an insider with certain powers in a certain time has some pros and cons. Therefore, I have been continuously challenging my research practices, as suggested by Etherington (2007). It is also important to mention that, although I am an insider in the setting, I was not an insider when considering the different courses which I was involved in. Every week with the beginning of a new course, I was dealing with new people and eventually pupils to whom I was completely unknown and vice versa. Some of these problems and limitations will have more of an influence depending on the research methods involved, therefore it will be important to use the different methods in a complementary way.

In conclusion, the position and the role that I have tried to hold, not only during the fieldwork, but also throughout the research has not been the one of the outsider but rather the position of the “reflective insider” (Coffey, 1999: 57), which has hopefully allowed all the pros and cons to coexist in a fruitful way.

3.2.2. Field Data Collection Challenges

The importance of reflexivity is not only related to the research design and to the general theoretical and methodological approach of the

research. In fact, it is also worth considering what happened during the data collection periods since some of these reflections and events may have influenced the research. Actively engaging my reflexivity during the research was not very easy, especially during the participant observation, the main data collection method. The degree of flexibility of the two *selves*, of researcher and insider, sometimes created problems. In certain situations I often wanted to ask colleagues and friends for clarification or questions about why they said a certain thing or why they had a certain behaviour. This was often a problem, a question that regarded something well-established that people thought I already knew the answer to, would often not result in a proper answer. They would simply reply “Are you serious?”, “What kind of question is this?” or “I am sure you know the answer”. Therefore, it appeared that, for some people, it was unconceivable to think that ‘I could not know’ the reasons behind certain actions or behaviours and my question was out of place and not appropriate. Therefore, after different people expressed the same reaction I decided to stop this practice, even if I thought it was a good way of challenging my reflexivity, and I opted for a different approach. Instead of asking a very precise question I would find a way to express something more similar to an opinion or a comment to see if my interlocutor seemed to agree or disagree. Based on their reaction or response I could then infer if my interpretation or understanding was the same or not. I realised that a direct question would put me in a difficult situation, it was as if my legitimacy as an insider was questioned based on the inappropriateness of my question. In order to ‘not lose face’ as a member of the community I had to modify my practice. I was quite surprised by this reaction, given how open I have always been about the research and what I was doing at the school, as I will explain. It seemed that being a researcher did allow me to ask questions but only up to a certain extent. Questioning fundamental aspects of the life was not accepted, regardless of the research and the participants’ awareness of it. The same mechanism was

present during the interviews even if on a slightly different level. In fact, even if the starting point of every topic in the interviews was a very broad question, I often asked more precise ones, based on the respondent's answer, to get to the bottom of the discussion whenever they mentioned something worth investigating. However, throughout a good number of interviews there was a point after which people would not know what to answer or how to explain a certain situation. They would say: "You know what I mean", "You know how it works", "I don't have to explain to you" or they would simply restate the previous answer. These were more or less the same answers that I had been given in the setting. However, it is also worth mentioning that in the interviews this narrative came into the discussion much later. Probably, the more formal setting of the interviews made people more aware and prepared to be asked more in-depth questions and so more willing to provide in-depth answers. Nevertheless, the more general remark that can be made is that, although my position as an insider did facilitate my interaction with other people, especially those that had previous knowledge of the setting, it did become a minor obstacle when engaging with them at a deeper level. Therefore, playing the role of the *reflective insider* was possible but more challenging than what was initially thought.

The other main problem I encountered during fieldwork was related to note taking. Writing could be performed in quite plain view, for example on my bed or sitting at the table in the instructors' barracks. It would not create too much disturbance, since a lot of the moments in which I would write were considered time for relaxation, so people would be sleeping or resting. Sometimes, other instructors would make jokes about my constant writing and taking notes. These took different forms, from the idea that I was taking notes all the time without resting to the effect that everyone should watch out and behave 'properly', otherwise they would be 'recorded' in my notebook. Eventually, some instructors asked me what I was writing or what I was looking at more precisely but answering this sort of questions was

never an issue, since a general answer about the 'social process' was enough to satisfy the curiosity of those asking. A few other times people would sit next to me or stand behind me to spy on what I was actually writing, but this was done mainly as a joke to disturb or annoy me rather than to know what I was writing. Closing the notebook or making a joke was enough for them to stop and let me continue with my writing. Nevertheless, since I was using almost all the relaxation time to write, I was not able to properly rest. Therefore, especially after a long time in the field, sometimes I would just make some bullet point or simply not write to regain some energy. Being physically and mentally tired was a real challenge during fieldwork and the recorder did help to solve this problem. Vocal notes allowed me to spend less time on the note taking process but I felt that speaking into a recorder was not the same as writing. Writing helped me to think more about what happened, challenge my reflexivity more and elaborate on what was going on (O'Reilly, 2009). Moreover, recording notes meant looking for some privacy to protect the data, therefore I also needed to find an appropriate moment in which my absence would have not been a problem.

Being tired or exhausted in certain situations, both mentally and physically, also had other consequences on writing and also on the life in general. After many weeks of repeating the same life, with the same timetable over and over again, spending time constantly with other people and not having any privacy started to become hard to sustain and alienating. In fact, for example, the need to have some privacy or to rest a little more resulted in trying to get out of the daily communal life some moments of peace. For example, when walking from the base to the boats, I would listen to some music to be isolated from the rest of the group. Naturally, this meant not listening to what was going on and not participating in the situations, therefore not being able to do any observation. I was aware that my practice was going to affect the data collection but I was also aware that I needed to find these little moments here and there during the day, so that I would be

able to be more focused in those situations that I thought could have been more interesting. Therefore, the monotony and the characteristics of the life did have a certain effect that prevented, in some cases, proper participation in the life of the school. However, I consider these moments, what caused them, the way of dealing with them also as part of the data given that the ethnographer is subject and object in a research.

In conclusion, the fieldwork was more challenging than expected but thanks to the two separate periods of fieldworks I could address some of the practical problems faced during the first in the second. For example, by turning two weeks of fieldwork into two weeks of rest in between two four-weeks stays. This meant staying a little bit less in the field but allowed me to be much more concentrated and focused since I would not have to face some of the consequences of the exhaustion. Moreover, challenging my reflexivity in relation to my previous knowledge of the setting was also somewhat more complex, since I had to understand how far I could involve other people in it. The interviews partially addressed this problem met in fieldwork, since I could push the boundaries a little bit further. Therefore, if I could not ask something during fieldwork I was able to do so in the interviews and I believe that this provided me with the chance to reflect on my positions and views that have been influenced by my previous involvement. Finally, even if challenging, all these moments revealed something about the experience of the school, its dynamics and mechanisms. Therefore, I consider the challenges not only as a partial response to the limitations but also as data that highlight some aspects of the setting.

3.3. Ethical Issues

This section considers the different ethical issues in relation to the research, it is divided into two different parts. The first part focuses on a

discussion of the general ethical concerns, duties and precautions often considered by researchers. The second part, based on the first one, focuses the practical ethical actions that have been carried out in the development of the research.

3.3.1. Ethics in Ethnographies: Theory

Modern approaches to research ethics are often based on Immanuel Kant's ethics. Starting from his ideas, researchers have developed the idea that they have the duty to avoid considering and treating participants as a means to an end, rather than as an end in themselves (Atkinson, 2001). However, this Kantian idea clashes to a certain extent with the idea of social research in which people are the subject and partially the means of research. In order to resolve the tension produced by this notion it is possible to try to have the subjects of the research embrace the research aims. This can be achieved by having them voluntarily join the research. Informed consent is a technique often used to change the position of people from subjects to participants (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). The use of informed consent is considered nowadays necessary and a central element of the ethical conduct of research (Crow et al., 2006). Informing the potential participants about the study is a way in which the researchers can empower them by reducing the power gap implied in their relationship. The information provided can help to clarify and accept the identities involved in the research (Sultana, 2007). However, it is also important to remember how the information given to the participants is often partial and decided by the researchers who still hold a more powerful role (Sultana, 2007). Nevertheless, the use of informed consent promotes the lowering of barriers between researcher and researched and a better understanding between them (Etherington, 2007). The researcher is exposing his/herself to

the researched and it is possible to say that this action makes him/her more 'vulnerable' (Behar, 1996).

In general, there are two approaches in relation to the informed consent practice. The first approach is considered to be the "*optimistic scenario*" (Crow et al., 2006: 85) according to which informed consent is an integral part of the collection of good-quality data. Informed consent establishes a more equal relationship in which the participants can have confidence and can be more open about the aspects in which the researcher is interested. The second approach, that has a opposite perspective, on informed consent is addressed as the "*pessimistic scenario*" (*ibidem*: 88). The data, instead of being improved, suffer from the process put into practice to gain informed consent. In particular, this practice has an adverse effect on participation rates and inhibits the development of the rapport necessary for the collection of authentic data. It is important to consider the practical consequences of the practice of informed consent and its achievement as well as its relation to the setting. In relation to the research I conducted, my evaluation was that knowing that this research was taking place would not considerably affect the data or the participants, given how the intensity of the life would be likely to make them forget about it.

The use of informed consent in ethnographic research is considered to be partially problematic and the compatibility between them has been questioned (Bell, 2014). Informed consent appears to be inappropriate for ethnography (Bell, 2014). The use of informed consent is considered problematic from three major perspectives. The first is related to partial truths that the researcher communicates to the potential participants. Secondly, informed people tend to forget the research purposes, especially during long-term ethnographies, which also carry the third and last problematic aspect, related to the researcher's identity which becomes blurred and fades within the setting. These objections were taken into account and considered as limitations of the practices of informing the

potential participants about the researcher's role and the aims of the research, but did not influence the decision of trying to inform the participants.

The setting of the research can be considered to be bounded and to possess its own set of rules, like an organisation. Very little has been written about informed consent and ethics in ethnographies that focus on organisations (Plankey-Videla, 2012), but it is normally framed from the participants' and the organisation's perspectives. These two entities should be considered separately. Gaining access to the organisation often implies an endemic light form of deception; researchers tend to present their research in the most positive light. Moreover, even when in the field, the researcher still has to maintain access and consent for all the necessary time. To a certain extent, it is important to keep in mind how the access granted by the gatekeepers also influences the ability of subordinates, or people within the organisation, to provide voluntary and personal consent (Plankey-Videla, 2012). Therefore, the organisation's permission should not be understood as a participant's permission and the negotiations should be separate. Trying to obtain consent from the participant becomes also a way to weaken the organisation's power in their regards and in relation to the research.

The informed consent practice is based on three different principles grounded on the responsibility that a researcher has towards the participants (Atkinson, 2001). The first is related to non-maleficence and beneficence. It is essential to not do any harm, physical or psychological, to the participants as individuals or as groups. The concept of harm needs also to be considered in relation to time. Especially ethnographic research might harm participants indirectly after the fieldwork, for example when publishing the research. Anonymity and confidentiality are essential in this regard. Nevertheless, participants or people close to them in the setting might still be able to identify themselves through the descriptions of their behaviour. Therefore, researchers need to remove identifiable information

as soon as possible and to try as much as possible to anonymise people. The second is related to the autonomy and self-determination of the participants. The participants' values and decisions must be respected and considered. Participants have the right to decide to participate, refuse or withdraw from the research at any time without consequences. The third and final principle is justice, according to which every participant should be treated equally. It is a common practice to rely on code of ethics or ethical guidelines but this should be done carefully since these codes do not consider the methods and may constrain the research. The ethical decision considered for this research is based on the previous discussions and on the American Sociological Association (ASA) "Code of Ethics" and on the British Sociological Association (BSA) "Ethical Guidelines".

3.3.2. Ethics in The Research

In relation to participant observation, informed consent was obtained at the beginning of every week when new people arrived at the school. During the first meeting of every single course that stayed in the same base as me, I personally explained my role as a researcher and the aims of the research. Reaching every participant individually was not feasible therefore reaching courses appeared to be the most reasonable solution. I tried to use clear and simple language and to avoid any unnecessary jargon. I stated very clearly that the participation in the study was not mandatory but voluntary. The participants were totally free to not participate or to withdraw at any time from the study with no consequences. Participating in the study was not related in any way to the participation in the sailing courses. The participation in these two activities was totally separate and independent. This required a deeper explanation to the pupils whom I was teaching. I was afraid that they would feel more pressure to participate, since they could have been afraid of repercussions during the course. The

anonymity and confidentiality of the data was underlined, as well as my effort to ensure them as much as possible. Given the tendency of the participant to forget the explanations of the beginning of the week, I also made a reminder at the end of the course on Friday evening. Every participant has been considered to be able to give consent on his/her behalf. Every observation has taken place in groups and not on an individual basis. I was available at any time during the fieldwork for any further clarification or communication in relation to the research. During the participant observation, all these processes took place verbally. The decision to obtain a verbal form of consent was based on different reasons. Firstly, participating in the research did not constitute any type of harm for the participants, neither physical or psychological. The only potential harm was related to the sailing activities which was totally independent from the research. Secondly, the research did not look at any sensitive or private data of the participants but just at their behaviour in a group. Nobody during the entire fieldwork ever expressed the desire to be excluded from the data collection.

On the contrary, I was able to obtain a written form of informed consent for the interviews. All the participants of the interviews, who were over the age of sixteen, were given a written consent form before the interview. The consent was sent through email and a copy of the signed form or of an answer that could demonstrate their understanding of the research aim has been kept. Moreover, before starting asking questions on the day of the interview, I reminded all the participants about the informed consent and its key point. All the interviews have been anonymised even if the participant was happy in having his or her name in the research. The participants have also been given the possibility to obtain a copy of the transcription of their interview but no one requested one.

In conclusion, the informed consent has been obtained verbally for the participant observation and in writing for the interviews. I tried to respect

the autonomy of the participants, tried to give them as much comprehensible information as possible and to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of the data, even if in certain situations this has not been possible. For example, some figures at the school, such as the HS, are still identifiable and recognisable since there is no real way of anonymising them. The same can be said about the school itself. In fact, its in-depth characterisation throughout the research would have made it very easily identifiable at least within certain contexts. Moreover, the school's authorities agreed to let me use the name of the school for the research. Every decision during fieldwork regarding ethical matters has been done with maximum respect towards the participants, not subjects, of the research, and according to the more ethical and appropriate behaviour required. For example, by partially suspending the collection of data when the age of the participants did not allow them to provide a proper informed consent.

Chapter 4

The Institution

This first empirical chapter covers the key characteristics of the Centro Velico Caprera when looking at it from the perspective of an institution. The chapter explains and discusses how the institution is structured and how its features are perceived by the frequenters. In order to start to understand life inside the school, the aim is to provide a sort of skeleton of where the different processes take place. Describing the school as an institution is relevant for the research aims since its structure is an essential part of the experience. The institution works as an enabler and a necessary condition for other dynamics, which is discussed in the following chapters, to take place.

The discussion is divided in different parts based on the different theoretical benchmarks and the analytical aims. Firstly, I describe the different statuses and roles that people can have at the school. Secondly, I discuss the ‘total’ characteristics of the school and assess if it is possible to consider the CVC as belonging to the realm of total institutions. I finally relate all these aspects with one another and discuss what kind of institution the CVC is and the relevance of this for the analysis⁴.

4.1. Status and Roles

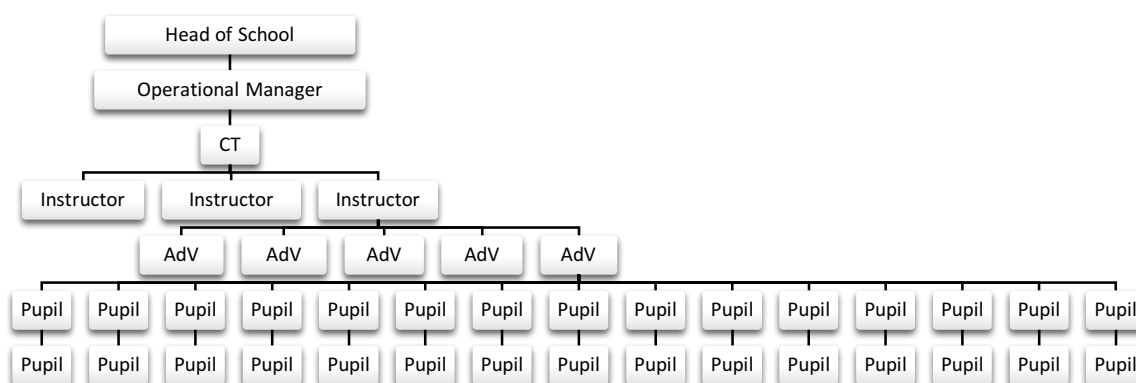
“Everyone has a role and you feel part of something”
(INT. 13)⁵ F.P.

⁴ See Appendix: Rules of Life 1 and 2

⁵ Every interview quote will have two letters to describe the interviewee’s characteristics related to gender and role. F=female, M=male, P=pupil, and I=instructor

Every status carries a set of duties, obligations and behaviours, and therefore roles, that everyone must respect. The discussion is organised around every possible status with its relative role and it follows the hierarchical order of the school starting from the bottom in ascending order. Everyone who is able to make a career as volunteer at the school has necessarily experienced the previous statuses. This section is highly descriptive since it is the necessary ground on which I then develop the different arguments and analysis.

Figure 1. The structure of the school in relation to a typical novices' course during the high-season.



4.1.1. Pupils

The first possible status that anyone can have at the school is as a pupil. Most people who are at the school at any given time are pupils, even if with different levels of sailing expertise or school knowledge. Interestingly, even if people pay to attend the school they are not perceived and neither do they see themselves as customers. Their treatment, and their behaviour, does not follow these lines. The main purpose of the pupils who attend the school is to obtain the sailing knowledge that corresponds with their course. However, once the first experience is concluded, coming back can be seen

to be motivated by sailing factors as well as by the life experience provided also by 'spiritual' factors. The pupils can be considered as the main subjects towards which the overall activities are oriented.

The pupil's role is very similar to the one of a normal pupil at a school: for example, they are expected to listen, do what they are told to do, learn, be respectful of the authorities and the institution. These expectations appear to be conveyed by the idea of being in a setting in which one of the main objectives is to learn how to sail. However, on certain occasions and for a limited period, their status and their role slightly changes. In fact, every pupil, once a week, must take part in the *comandata*⁶. During this day, they cannot be considered as the rest of the pupils, since they become part of the institution on a more organisational and structural level. They sacrifice some of their time as learners to provide more general help to the group. For example, by helping the cooks, cleaning the barracks or setting and clearing the dining area. This fact is expanded on in one of the following sections but it is worth mentioning this little status change which is essential for the experience. In a crew analogy, the pupils represent the sailors. They need to work together at all times to ensure the successful functioning of the school. They are perceived to all be on the same level, as highlighted in an interview:

"Everyone is in the same condition..." (INT. 13)^{F.P.}.

The different level of the course can result in some pupils feeling on higher level than the novices. As I cover in the subcultural chapter, the more advanced courses tend also to have some sort of prestige attached to them. However, this prestige can be considered as *intra*-pupils and it does not

⁶ This term is used to indicate those duties that every pupil has to perform throughout the course. In fact, everybody has to prepare and serve, with the chef, the three meals of the day and clean the kitchen afterwards. Moreover, these people have to clean the bathroom and the base in general by changing the bin liners and sweeping every bungalow. This 'state' only lasts for one day and forces those who have to perform these duties to forgo a few hours of sailing. Everyone except the instructors is expected to do it. It is mandatory and part of the life. Depending on the base the *comandata* might eat 30 minutes before everyone else, so that they can serve the meal.

change the general perception of being on the larger and lower level of the hierarchical pyramid.

4.1.2. Sailing Helpers or AdVs (Aiutanti di Vela)

In hierarchical order, the second status that can be identified is the sailing helper or AdV (aiutanti di vela). Among all the different roles at the school this is probably the most interesting, given its intermediate and temporary nature in which some notable features tend to be revealed more easily; especially those related to the shift towards a power position. Among those who are the best pupils, some are selected and then evaluated in a special course to eventually become an AdV. This can be considered the first step in the school career and it is part of the process of becoming an instructor. These people can be considered as skilled pupils both sailing-wise as well as in terms of understanding of the school's dynamics. Their role is to support the instructors in the sailing activities and in the land-based management. For example, by embarking with the pupils at the very beginning of the courses, helping with the rigging, reminding them about the different appointments of the day, checking the barracks, taking care of the boat damage and so on. All these activities are normally executed in an independent way but always under the watchful eye of an instructor.

Even if not pupils, the AdVs still share every aspect of their life with them. They live in the pupils' barracks and they must do the comandata. Occasionally, they may share the instructors' barracks if the pupils' barracks are full. The role implies a basic level of responsibilities at the school and allows the beginning of the understanding of the school's dynamics from a more authoritative perspective. It is considered to be the most exhausting role, since it requires a consistent level of concentration and commitment. Moreover, being the closest authority figures to the pupils they often need to behave in the most proper way since they set the standards and give the

example to them. It is extremely important that they behave in the correct way by always respecting the rules and the norms. However, it is quite common practice among instructors to allow them to break some rules if there is no pupil around to witness this.

Managing the AdV and giving them responsibilities is something that is decided by the instructors. If the AdV status is quite clear, their role is interpreted differently by the instructors and therefore also what they are asked to do slightly changes. The details of what the role consists of are not always equally shared among the teaching body. During the different weeks of fieldwork, I often engaged in discussions with my colleagues about what I was asking the AdVs to do. For example, some instructors ask some of the AdVs to lecture the pupils, even if this is not an activity that they 'should' do since they have not been trained yet. The justification for it is that they will be soon be an instructor and this is a way of letting them gain some experience.

The different and lower authority (compared to that of the instructors) they hold in relation to the pupils is probably the most interesting aspect. Since they live and spend most of the time with the pupils, they create a very deep relationship that can be considered to be authoritative to a certain extent, but not as much as the one with the instructors. They are essential for the courses, not only from the technical perspective, but also from the more social perspective, since they can get the group involved towards an objective rather than 'force' it as the instructors would do. Often, for example, instead of scolding some pupils the instructors send the AdV to do it in a more subtle and relaxed way.

The progress of the AdV during the week is monitored through a meeting that normally occurs in the middle of the week. All the authorities gather to discuss how things are proceeding and what the major issues are. Often the Head of the School then gives his opinion and advice on the different matters

to the instructors and AdVs that are attending the meeting. Many times, he insisted on setting the example for the pupils and being very careful during the entire length of the course. For instance, being on time, always being respectful, wearing the right technical clothes or taking good care of the boats.

“Remember guys that everything you do in front of them they will copy and emulate. You need to be careful and pay attention to every behaviour you have in front of them” (HS)

Being ‘above’ the pupils but at the bottom of the formal hierarchical structure of the school puts the AdV in a strange position in which they need to find their correct balance. In some cases, they exploit their position with pupils for example by jumping the queue at the shop, while in others they are exploited by the authorities and asked to do things well beyond their normal responsibilities, like deciding what theoretical concept should be introduced during the lectures. Nevertheless, they are evaluated and eventually selected to attend the course of instructors when considered ready. Interestingly, after a certain number of courses, the more experienced AdVs tend to lose efficacy, generally due to a lack of motivation, and can become more of a problem than a solution, showing how the temporariness of this status is important and quite evident to everyone, pupils included.

4.1.3. Land Helpers or AT (Assistenti del Turno o Terra)

At the same level in the hierarchical structure of the school as the AdVs, there are the ATs (assistenti del turno o terra). These two positions share some responsibilities but differ from two main points of view. Firstly, the AT is only related to the land activities and not the sailing ones. Secondly, this position does not belong to the CVC career path.

In particular, this figure has the responsibility of managing and organising the different tasks of the comandata during the day. Together with the cooks, they organise the work in the kitchens or when it comes to cleaning the barracks or the bathrooms. Normally, ATs are pupils that ask to be considered for this role. They do not receive any formal training from the school, that, in exchange for some weeks as an AT, offers them some free courses. This figure needs to constantly relate with the instructors' team to understand how the pupils are behaving and to have the course and base organisation running as smoothly as possible. The ATs are not always available especially during the low season periods. In those situations, it is up to the AdvVs to take their place, organise and take care of the comandata. Naturally, this puts even more pressure on the AdvVs.

During the last period of fieldwork, I happened to have an argument with the AT in charge that highlighted some of the status and roles features. One morning, the comandata, who had remained in the base, missed the appointment they had been given to join the rest of the course at the 'scalo' (spliway). To understand the reason for their lateness I went back to the base to look for them. Since the pupils had not behaved properly during their comandata morning shift, the AT had decided on her own that that morning they would not go sailing even if they were supposed to do so. In this case, the AT granted herself an authority that did not belong to her; after a quite heated discussion about this issue we had to turn to the HS to solve the situation. After a quick private explanation from both parties, we then had a meeting together in which he reinforced the idea that the AT is an important figure that needs to support the activities but cannot take decisions related to the sailing activity. If the AT thought that the pupils needed a more severe punishment, she should have discussed this with the instructors.

Therefore, even if the AT status can be part of the staff, it can also be said that it only belongs to it partially, since it is not part of the hierarchy. The

role that follows is related only to the land-based activities especially associated with the *comandata*. The AT does not have any responsibility towards the sailing part of the life.

4.1.4. Instructors

Following the hierarchical structure of the school, being an instructor represents the last step that volunteers can reach. This is not an intermediate or temporary position. After a period as a pupil, a period as an Adv, with a positive evaluation, and a dedicated course on how to deliver lectures, organise exercises out at sea and pilot the safety power boats, a frequenter of the CVC can finally become part of the teaching body. He/she represents the authority in the course and on the island and oversees the running of the course. Instructors are considered experienced and skilled people as sailors, but also as members of the school community. Their understanding of the different dynamics of the group and the school is considered quite high and considering them just from the sport perspective would provide a limited account. At the beginning of the week, they are assigned a course that they follow for its entire length. It is also worth mentioning that all the instructors are volunteers, none of them are getting paid for the time they decide to devote the school. This is because transmitting the sailing skills is just one of the reasons that pushes people to become instructors. At its base, there is also a profound and sincere love for the school and its peculiarities, which are naturally tied with sailing.

The instructors can be considered as the formal authority and their status is clearly different from that of the pupils, Adv's or ATs. They have separate barracks in which they sleep and it is not considered feasible to mix the sleeping arrangements with those of the pupils at any time. Moreover, instructors do not participate in the *comandata* or in other similar activities. The school aims to clearly separate their status from the others. Different

reasons could explain this decision: for example, to keep the authority efficient and respected by all the pupils. An instructor's way of dealing with the pupils and creating a relationship with them is less based on a friend's perspective compared to other statuses.

The difference in status and how it is generally perceived is clearly identifiable during, for instance, the meals. When two or more instructors sit at a certain table, it is often the case that pupils avoid them unless these are the last seats available. This can be interpreted in different ways, but I see this to be related to the different status perception. Pupils think that, since instructors sleep in different barracks, they also want to have meals on their own. This has been also confirmed in some of the interviews where another element was introduced. This feeling depends very much on the age of the pupils. Younger pupils tend to be warier of sitting with the instructors while older pupils tend to enjoy their company more. This feeling of separation is something that is taken into account by the instructors in the field; for example, we often decided, with some of my colleagues, to try mix ourselves more with the pupils so that we could overcome this perceived barrier. In general, there is a different way of approaching pupils on land and at sea. Since at sea the instructors have full and complete responsibility of the pupils' safety, they expect everyone to immediately comply with any order. On land, they can be more relaxed and easy-going but not too much since being too close on land could compromise how things unfold during the time at sea. To a certain extent it could be argued, based on Goffman's thoughts (1971), that the instructors underplay their role while on land since it is not compatible with the idealised version of themselves. This idealised version contemplates having a less authoritative relationship while on land, as if during this time, the relationship is more equal.

The different status is also highlighted by some episodes in relation to the Adv. Almost every day, after the exhausting activities and before dinner, the instructors decide to have a beer and a few snacks in front of their barrack.

This is normally called “aperitivo” and by some instructors it is considered an exclusive moment “for instructors only”. During fieldwork, it happened a few times that pupils just passing by would join us for this ‘aperitivo’, and some of my colleagues would ask them to leave. This also applied in other situations with the AdVs that some instructors did not welcome during this moment.

“Guys, sorry but being here is reserved to instructors only, you are free to have your own ‘aperitivo’ but not here.”

The instructors’ authority is not just given by their position but it is very much related to the sailing activities. In fact, it is commonly accepted that if a person has been given the role of instructor he/she probably possesses good technical skills. The authority is highly embedded in the sailing practices and gets its strength and legitimacy from them. It has been interesting to see how this authority could clash with some other authorities that have legitimacy outside the school. This could be observed at the same time of the year across the two periods of fieldwork. There is a moment in June during which the CVC hosts pupils from entire schools from different parts of Italy. These schools not only bring pupils that normally share a classroom but also the teachers. Obviously, these authority figures still have some power over the pupils that they are accompanying, therefore in some cases the CVC instructors have also to deal with them. For example, in some cases the pupils would ask their teachers what to do or how to behave, or the teacher would ask the instructors to treat someone differently or change some of their decisions. This could have pros and cons but it generally disrupted the hierarchy and the internal equilibrium of the course, since the teachers’ authority is not inherently related to sailing. Therefore, this different authority can interfere with the regular unfolding of events but it is perceived and considered to be on a much lower level within the sailing school, since its legitimacy does not derive from anything related to sailing. It is possible to say that the teachers’ authority is greater on land than at

sea, where their opinion and thoughts can be more easily overruled. Ultimately, it is up to the Head of the School to maintain the right balance between the positions and mitigate any problem or discussion.

In conclusion, the status of the instructors is very much related to their sailing expertise and knowledge of the setting. Their role is the one of the leaders of the group. In an analogy with a tall ship crew they would represent the different officials that implement the orders, organise, decide and manage the crew. They are a formal authority at the school that explicitly tries to differentiate them and, in some cases, they differentiate themselves from the rest of the figures. Nevertheless, their involvement in the group is fundamental for creating a successful course. Their role is crucial from three different points of view: the first is related to sailing, since they teach, theoretically and physically, the sport and its features. Secondly, they are essential for maintaining the discipline, the rules, the norms and to make sure that the land-based practices are carried out in the correct way. The third aspect is the combination of the previous two, their knowledge, experience and expertise, being volunteers, are the tools through which they also carry and teach all those specific elements and values related to the spirit and the peculiarities of the place. Moreover, since they have all been pupils before this can be considered an easier task.

4.1.5. Head of the Course or CT (Capo Turno)

Among the instructors of each course, there is one that has more authority compared to the rest of the team. At the beginning of the week the Head of the school appoints a Head of each course: a CT (Capo Turno). This role is given, when possible, to an instructor that already possesses a good level of experience and who has already completed a good number of courses. However, it can also happen that the more experienced instructor is not given this responsibility in favour of a slightly less expert one so that

she/he can be supported and learn how to properly carry out this role. The CT is very important in the course and it is up to him/her to take the most important decisions, such as: which exercises to carry out while at sea, the lectures or the different appointments for the group. Moreover, if something is debated in the instructors' team he/she has the final word.

"I do not know if the CT will want to cover this topic in the next lesson..." [an instructor during a lecture]

"This is not up to us to decide but it is up to the CT..."

"You will have to discuss this with the CT because I cannot authorise you..."

Often, he/she is also a link between his/her course, the other courses and the different authorities. For example, if the head of the school wants something to be implemented, he speaks to CT who then goes down the hierarchy to the other instructors, the AdVs and the pupils. In the same way, when some decisions need to be made, the discussion is just between the head of the school and the CT. For example, during the first period of fieldwork, given the number of injuries and sicknesses that the different courses were experiencing due to a general fatigue of the pupils, not only generated by the sailing activities but also by the fact that they tended to go to bed quite late, the head of the school proposed a curfew. All the CTs and the head gathered in our barracks and we briefly discussed our opinions and views on this issue, we then decided to implement the curfew. Consequently, every CT reached out to the instructors and AdVs in their courses so that this could be done.

The CT is always a very important point of reference for the group, given that he/she is the maximum authority in each course. The decisions he/she makes can highly influence a course from a different perspective, like the level of discipline or of teaching, the respect for the timetable, the boats and the relationship with other courses. The CT is responsible for the general rhythm and setting of a course and therefore he/she can affect not only the

pupils' experience but also the experience of his/her collaborators. The level of responsibility that, for example, the AdV could have in the course is decided by the CT and their growth is also dependent upon the CT's willingness to teach them and include them in the relevant decisions and explain the reasons for doing so. During fieldwork, two episodes highlighted the importance of this figure. The first relates to the change of the CT over a two-week course. The head of the school when appointing the CT always tries to keep the continuity of his/her authority for the entire length of course but this is not always possible. When a CT changes, this creates a great number of fractures. The group has been socialised under the previous authority, they know what they are allowed to do and not to do, which rules can be partially broken and which must be respected all the time, and they also have a certain relationship with the AdVs and the other instructors which has been influenced by the CT. The group, which after a week is often very tied together and united must reshape itself according to the authority which, in some cases, can behave very differently. In the 2016 fieldwork, when all the instructors, me included, left a two-weeks course at the end of the first week, the pupils often came to me to complain about the behaviour of their new CT that they could not understand and felt to be different and unusual. They also added that they did not know how to behave and that they got scared of doing something wrong and getting scolded or punished. This created some tensions within the pupils as well as between the group and the authorities, which, nonetheless, by the time the courses ended were all resolved. It took some days for the pupils to get used to the different rhythm and style of the new teaching body; once that happened everything went back to run smoothly and efficiently. The second example regards a course in which the appointed CT, and the only instructor for the course, had not come to the school for a very long time and in addition to this he had not done any dinghies courses in an even longer time. Even if he could be considered the CT officially he did not do any of the things he was supposed

to do. The course ended up following the AdV's instructions more than his. This situation created a course that, from the outside, looked like a drifting boat, with no direction and no clear instructions. During this time, I tried to help the AdV of the course by listening to some of the complaints that were all related to a lack of authority and by giving some advice. For example, I told her that she needed to be more detached and authoritative while at sea, so that the pupils would have seen her preparation and perceive her status to be higher and earned 'at sea'.

In conclusion, the CT is still an instructor, who, however, has a much greater responsibility especially towards the rest of the crew. He/she not only takes care of the relationship inside the group but also makes sure that the group can fit with the other courses and in general with the school spirit. Following the analogy of the tall ship crew the CT represents the captain of the ship which we can now see to be the course with all its participants. The CT possesses a status which is a little bit higher than that of a normal instructor, however the role is different and much more complicated since it involves important decisions.

4.1.6. Operational Manager or OP, Head of the school or HS (Capobase) and Other Figures

Finally, there are two different figures that still need consideration in the school's hierarchy. The operations manager and the head of the school. Both these figures can be the top authorities on the island, even if the former is subordinate to the latter.

"Hi everyone and welcome to Caprera, my name is ... and I am the Head of the School... I am also introducing you the OP that here we call ... who takes care of the boats and the land activities" [the HS during the first day presentation]

The HS oversees the entire organisation of the school at the three different bases; he controls and makes sure that everything is done properly, can take strong disciplinary actions, can allow people to exit the school or grant access, and can also partially intervene on the routine in exceptional cases. When the HS is not present at the school, for example at night, the OP becomes the highest authority and can take extraordinary actions to contain or solve problems. In case both are simultaneously absent from the school, the CT that has the course that has been staying for the longest time is in charge. However, the main difference between the two figures is that the OP is much more related to the sailing aspect of the life. For example, when there is strong wind, the CT of every course must negotiate with the OP the number of boats that they can take out to sea. Moreover, the OP deals with the repair of the boats, sails and the general management of the equipment. Unlike all the other statuses and figures previously presented, the OP and the HS are not part of the career path of the school. They are paid employees that possess in-depth knowledge of the school as well as of the sea and of sailing. Their role is also much more executive and directive compared to the instructors' one.

The HS does not normally get too involved in the courses and he just regularly checks how things are going, for example through the AdV's meeting on Wednesdays. His role is extremely important as someone who links the different courses, bases and people. He is a point of reference when something strange or unusual happens. During the 2016 fieldwork, I had the chance to work with him regarding a bullying episode that happened during my course. After the rumours of this incident arrived and after a brief evaluation of the situation, we decided to involve the HS given the gravity and extraordinariness of the situation. Together with the CT of the course we worked to find the perpetrators and then he decided, together with us, to expel them from the school, given that their behaviour could not be considered to be appropriate.

“I believe we will have to send you home since you proved that you cannot live in this community and respect its basic rules” [the HS communicates our decision to the pupils]

The HS and OP are very important figures at the school. Their status is certainly the highest at the school and it is strongly perceived to be like this. For example, during lunch, they always sit at the same table and in the same seat and those are the only seats in the common room that cannot be taken by anyone else. The pupils' position is perceived as more distant to them; therefore, they feel a lot less at ease in their presence. Their role is more related to organisational aspects and they also guarantee continuity during the different periods and courses, of discipline and standards. The fact of being employed and being active from the very beginning of the season until its end allows them to have a much more comprehensive point of view. In the tall ship analogy, their role would be the one of the admiral and vice admiral of a fleet composed by the different courses.

In conclusion, it is also worth mentioning other figures that it is possible to meet during a stay that are employees of the school. No more than ten people are part of this group which is composed of the three cooks, one for every base, the pantry-keeper and a few handymen who take care of the boats, the sails and the rest of the equipment both for the sea and on land. None of them sleep in the school and they all have normal working hours and working days, therefore the time they spend on the island is much less. The relationship with the occasional frequenters varies according the status: in general, the higher the status, the tighter the relationship is, except for the cooks who have quite a big part in the comandata. Moreover, the work they do often takes place while everyone else is out at sea, consequently there is not that much participation in their activities. Although these figures can be considered of minor importance from the perspective of this research and for its aims, their value for the school is certainly very high.

4.1.7. Conclusion: The Crew

The explanation of the status and role is not only necessary to understand how the school works from an organisational point of view. It highlights how these can affect the experience of the place, since the different statuses influence how a person lives in the school and how they feel about it. They are also important in creating the perception of a unique and separate place from the rest of the life, since this structure is not normally present in everyday life and these statuses and roles are related to the setting.

It is worth emphasising the fact that the description above did not mention anything about the everyday status of the different people. This is because, at the school, some of the everyday statuses and roles gain a different relevance. Being a student, a professional, a lawyer or a doctor and so on is irrelevant; however, age, gender, social class and geographical origin are, for example, still taken into account in the field even if with a different relevance. Some of them are discussed more in depth in the following chapters. The new status is still related to some of the statuses of everyday life but only from a certain perspective. It is more accurate to say that the new status comprehends some of the other statuses, which cannot be cancelled or ignored, but gains a much higher relevance at the school and it is on this more comprehensive status that the relationships are based upon. The more relevant status at the CVC is the one people hold in relation to the school's structure and its activities and that they create with time by attending the school. Everyone who enters the school for the first time starts from scratch, therefore at the same point, since they are considered a novice. The school gives the opportunity to start from zero to everyone while being part of a bigger group and structure. As highlighted in one of the interviews:

“Everyone starts from zero, everyone at the same time starts doing something they have never done

before. ... and everyone faces the same difficulties.”
(INT. 7)^{F.P.}

Moreover, the different statuses, in some cases, can subvert the normal order of things, compared to the everyday life, reinforcing the idea of being in an particular environment:

“There is a completely different status in which a young man, like yourself, can tell F., who is 43, things that in a normal context would be impossible to say.”
(INT. 4)^{M.P.}

Experience, sailing expertise and time are the tools that allow a change of status, especially from an institutional point of view. People have, are given and create a status which is solely relevant in this context in which they cannot relate to what they normally are and, vice versa, in everyday life they cannot embrace the school’s status. Every time a frequenter returns to the school he/she can then re-embrace their status and role accordingly.

However, there is a balance within this structure. Even if every status with its role is separate from the others they are still all necessary for each other and deeply connected. The reason for dividing people according to this system can be traced to the school’s aim to replicate the life on board a boat on land. The tall ship analogy is therefore not simply an analogy but the way in which the school is purposefully structuring itself: to create a crew in which everyone has a set of obligations and duties that must be accomplished for the crew to benefit from it. Everyone relies on other people to do their part and are expected by those people to act in the same way. The respect of the different statuses and roles is not only a necessary condition dictated by the normal rules of cohabitation, but it also allows the structure to divide the responsibility and work more efficiently towards its aim. Everything is done by the crew and for the crew, which is much more important than the individuals that constitute it and every action or process is carried out and designed with this clear idea in mind.

4.2. Total Institution

As the hierarchy is an important part of the structure of the setting, it can be connected to another important sociological analytical concept. In fact, the CVC can be considered an institution and in particular a total institution. However, before discussing the key total features, it is worth explaining, in light of the definition previously given by Scott (1995), how the school is an institution from a sociological point of view. After this discussion, the section proceeds to evaluate those specific characteristics initially identified by Goffman (1968a) that are necessary to create and maintain a total institution. Finally, I define what kind of institution the CVC is before making some more general considerations.

4.2.1. Institution

Scott (1995) identifies three pillars that are necessary to recognise an institution: regulative, normative and cognitive pillar.

Firstly, the regulative pillar is related to the capacity of creating rules, inspect the extent to which people conform to them, administering sanctions and manipulating future behaviours. The CVC achieves these through a very particular set of rules that are sent with an email when people enrol, explained at the very beginning of every week and framed in the common room of every base. The school, through the different authorities (Adv, AT, IS, CT) makes sure that these rules are respected and, in those cases in which they are broken, proceeds with different sanctions. Secondly, the normative system includes values and norms and is responsible for the creation of the different roles. The values and norms of the school are very much related to the sport of sailing and the sailing/tall ship/crew environment which is created accordingly. Values such as availability, generosity, sharing, simplicity and spontaneity are implemented in the school practices.

Moreover, ability, skills and knowledge are very much related to the hierarchical and status structure of the school since the career, from bottom to top, is related both to sailing ability as well as to the knowledge of the values and norms. Finally, the cognitive pillar is the collection of rules that constitutes the nature of reality and frames in which meaning is made. This system is also identifiable through the values and norms and the general discourses about the place related to the subculture, the uniqueness and the detachment of the school from everyday life.

The identification of these three pillars allows the possibility of framing the school as an institution in its own right, with its rules, values, norms, structure, status and peculiarities.

4.2.2 Total Institution

Goffman (1968) identifies eight specific characteristics of the concept of total institution. These characteristics are discussed separately in relation to the setting to identify its total features. It is important to understand these features since the totality of the school appears to be a crucial aspect and structure of the experience of those who attend the CVC:

“Definitely, the logistical aspect of Caprera helps a lot. If it would be possible to go out in the evening alone for clubbing or doing anything else, Caprera would not be the same. If it would be easy or possible to receive people that want to visit you... I mean, if it would be easy for other people to come over to the island, just maybe for one night, it would not be the same. I believe in the feeling of isolation, which sounds like a bad term, but nothing else comes to mind now.” (INT. 2)^{M.P.}

4.2.2.1. Place and Authority

The first characteristic of a total institution is that all the different aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same authority. In the CVC both these elements need to be considered separately and with care since they could be less evident than expected.

The life at the school can be divided, for analytical purposes, into two different parts. On the one hand, there is the land-based life, composed of all the activities carried out in the different bases, like meals, lectures, free time and sleeping. The distance between the different bases, the routine and the general tiring day do not encourage movement between them apart from special occasions. People tend to remain at their own base for the clear majority of the land time. This practice also re-enforces the idea of being in a smaller place than the actual space available on the island. On the other hand, there is the time spent in the sailing activities, therefore at sea. Especially for dinghies courses, the sailing activities take place in the main gulf or in the waters immediately next to it. Therefore, it could be argued that the notion of 'same place' is not entirely applicable in this case given that there are, in fact, two different settings and one of them is quite vast. Nevertheless, the perception while in the setting, is not divided in the same way as presented here. Participants perceive the place without any differences. The two different settings intertwine with each other, creating a more complete setting. In the mind of the frequenters, the barracks or the sea have the same qualities and deserve the same emotional attachment. The place for a frequenter is equally composed of the sea and the land. Therefore, it is possible to argue that even if the setting is more complex than a tall ship or a land based settlement it can still fall under the definition of "same place" given how it is perceived and felt by the frequenters. As can be highlighted by this interview there is no difference in land or sea since:

“... for one or two weeks that place becomes your only universe and there is nothing else. This helps immensely in creating such environment.” (INT. 2)^{M.P.}

Similarly, the notion of same authority needs consideration. As highlighted in the previous section, every status has a different degree of authority and, apart from the HS, there is always someone above. Nevertheless, all these figures can be seen to belong to the same authority sphere since they all share the same rules, norms and values. The authority differentiation and breakdown to different statuses is a consequence of a process of subsidiarity that aims to achieve a more efficient structure.

Therefore, it is possible to establish that the frequenters do spend the time at the school in the same place and under the same authority, as they would in a total institution.

4.2.2.2. Equal Treatment and Lack of Privacy

The second characteristic taken into consideration regards the general treatment of people during daily life. In particular, carrying out each moment of daily life with other people that are treated alike and required to do the same things together. The private life or any individual moment tends to disappear both for pupils and the staff, which is something quite particular compared to other similar institutions.

The idea of carrying out every activity together is something that the school tries to implement from the very beginning of every course. The notion of ‘the crew’, as presented before, is applicable also to every distinctive course. There is almost no activity that is not thought or designed to be done together. The meals, the lectures, the sailing activities and even the transfers from the base to the boats is all done together. For example, at the end of the afternoon, before the pupils are allowed to go back to shower everything needs to be done and even if one of the pupils is still working the instructors

will not let the rest of the group go. The treatment that pupils receive is always the same in time; from a short-term perspective, like the week, as well as a long-term perspective, like the years since the duties are always the same. Every different course or period of stay presumes the same treatment. Therefore, the notion of “same treatment” must be looked at from the perspective of the crew: ‘identical’ as a part of a crew and as a crew. The different status deserve consideration but they are part of the notion of crew as a community in which each member does his/her part. From this standpoint, the idea of doing the same things together naturally flows. Moreover, the routine forces all the actions together even more, creating a closer feeling between the different actors.

In addition, privacy almost completely disappears. The reasons for this are connected on one hand to the idea of the crew and on the other hand to the physical structure of the place and tall ship replica intention. The bases are organized in a way that does not allow people to have their privacy. The barracks, the common rooms, even the showers are designed to do everything in the presence of other people. Finding privacy requires moving in the island to find a little beach or a place that is not easily accessible. People are constantly together and anywhere they go there is someone else. The aim is to have people banded together with no other place to go, as in a tall ship,

“You do not have a private dimension anymore, nor any individual moments [to yourself]” (INT. 4)^{M.P.}

Therefore, it is possible to say that the treatment that everyone undergoes, authorities included, inspired by the idea of the crew, remains constant and does not change during a stay or from stay to stay. Together with more structural elements that aim to reproduce the experience of a tall ship, everyone, including the workers and cooks to a certain extent, is treated as part of a crew, even if with different responsibilities, and must live in close

and constant contact with everyone else. This can be difficult after a very long period, as I experienced in the data collection problem.

4.2.2.3. Schedule and Explicit Formal Ruling

The third characteristic considered regards the existence of a tight schedule that controls total institutions. The schedule is imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rules.

At the CVC, schedule is a very important part of the life; it is essential. The schedule governs every day and has remained the same since the school's foundation. It is essential for the life and it is a very distinctive trait. It is strictly applied by the authorities in various ways and not being on time or not respecting it is considered unacceptable. Together with the rules it is often the first thing explained to pupils at their arrival and it applies to everyone equally, authorities included. Every moment of the day is equally important and every moment must be attended by everyone. It is impossible, for example, to not come for breakfast in the morning.

Therefore, the school certainly controls time in the setting through an explicit formal ruling; however, given the importance, the effects and the consequences of the routine in the setting, are considered separately in a following chapter.

4.2.2.4. Definite Plan

The fourth characteristic considered regards bringing together all the activities in a definite plan designed to fulfil the aims of the institution.

The school has two major aims: the first regards sailing knowledge. Being a sailing school, the CVC aspires to teach sailing as sport, therefore technical aspects: tacking, knots, jibing and so on. Secondly, the CVC also aims to

create a more particular experience in which the technical/sport aspect is not the only one. The already cited aim of reproducing the tall ship experience with different devices is surely as important as the learning of the sport. Both these aims can be reconnected to the idea of the spirit since they constitute an essential aspect of it. Every decision, action or simply adjustment has been adopted by the school to maximise the effects so that people can have a different experience related to the different aims.

4.2.2.5. Inmates, Keepers and Mobility Between Them

The fifth characteristic discussed is the separation between members and supervisors, which are normally referred as inmates and keepers, and the mobility between these two positions. Normally in total institutions, like prisons, the separation is very clear with no mobility at all. Inmates can be defined as the inhabitants of the institution while the keepers are those in charge of the discipline, who control the routine and the life of inmates (Glouberman, 1990). The relationship between these two categories, as explained by Ben-David (1992), can change according to different factors.

In the case of the CVC, before discussing the type of relationship, it is worth explaining how the population of school can be divided into inmates or keepers. Considering the previous explanation of the different statuses and roles, it would be obvious to consider the pupils as inmates and the other people as staff, therefore keepers. However, when defining the inmates as inhabitants of the institutions there is a point to consider: in fact, everyone, apart from the HS, sleeps and lives on the island for the entire length of the course. Consequently, almost all the frequenters can be considered as inmates to a certain extent.

“Everyone eats the same thing at the same time and must respect that and the same rules” (INT. 1)^{M.P.}

Therefore, what really differentiates the two roles is the authority they hold. Those who have some authority over someone else, the inmates, can be considered as keepers. Even the AdVs, who cannot fully be considered to be completely pupils but neither entirely staff follow this idea. They still work for the institution and help to control the routine and the life of the pupils, therefore even if their status is still in between, I believe they can be considered more as keepers than inmates. Only the pupils can be considered purely as inmates given the lack of authority and their status in the school hierarchy.

Having clarified the distinction between the two roles, it is possible to examine and discuss the type of relationship they have according to the variables identified by Ben-David (1992). The first variable is the staff's perception of the inmates. At the CVC, the staff perceives the inmates very differently from other types of total institutions. The inmates are not seen as customers or prisoners, but rather like someone to be included in the crew or someone who is already part of it. The relationship is a very similar to the one you can find in a normal school between teachers and pupils. Therefore, a relationship generally based on the learning process and degrees of trust, participation, mutual respect and fun. At the CVC, the keepers perceive the inmates to be different from them but still part of the same group/crew to which they are essential. Secondly, there is the staff orientation towards the relationship. This second aspect is very much related to the first one and Ben-David (1992) suggests different types. Among those a distinction based on the life of the school must be made. In fact, the sea activities and the land activities cannot be considered at the same level. During the sea activities, the relationship is more oriented towards a control/management and patronage style, whereas in the land based activities the relationship is more friendship and persona-oriented. However, this distinction is not that clear at the school; even if presented separately these positions are part of a whole spectrum in which the

orientation shifts more from one position to the other according to the activities. The third element considered is related to the relation's mode. Between the three different alternatives proposed in the article, the CVC certainly belongs to the "guidance – cooperation" (Ben-David, 1992: 211) relation's mode, in which the general assumption is that staff orders and inmates obey. Nevertheless, everyone is still active in the institution even if with a difference in power and status. This highlights the general cooperation of the two different parts and how the relationship is based on a mutual necessity. This necessity introduces the fourth and last variable: social distance. Given how important these positions are for one another and the fact that they are part of the same group, the social distance, therefore the gap between the two, is quite reduced. Power is what differentiates the distance between the positions, in fact the more power, the greater distance. AdVs are much closer to the pupils than the HS, for example.

Based on these four variables, it is also possible to highlight a more general type of interaction, called "the integrative type" (Ben-David, 1992: 215), in which flexibility and adaptability are key in the relationship. The general aim of this kind of relationship is to 'integrate' the individual inmate. This type of relationship, being flexible, can also slightly change and become more punitive or custodial depending on the situation. In the CVC's case, for example, being at sea or on land. Moreover, the interaction between the two parts is free and open and the inmates are perceived as people with almost equal standing to the keepers. Therefore, the keepers care for the inmates and try to help them and work with them.

Finally, the mobility between the positions of inmate and keeper needs consideration. An interesting aspect of the CVC is that every keeper has necessarily been an inmate as well, given that all the instructors are selected among the most promising pupils. However, mobility, which in some total institutions is impossible, is still feasible but with its own time. To complete

the entire course from pupil to instructor it normally takes three or four years, with a couple of years as an AdV in between.

In conclusion, it is possible to identify inmates and keepers and a mobility pattern at the CVC like any other total institution. However, their relationship is slightly more complex and intertwined than others. The possibility of moving from one position to another is something uncommon and that also influences the relationship given that a keeper is aware of the experience that the inmate is having. Moreover, the relationship between these two roles is based on mutual collaboration during their stay. The comandata is a good example of this necessity, given the importance that this partial change from inmates to keeper as for the life. Therefore, even if separated from some points of view, they still belong to the same group – or crew in this case – that shares aims, objectives and purposes.

4.2.2.6. Future and Mortification of the Self

The sixth characteristic of total institutions regards the actions related to the future of inmates and the processes of mortification of the Self achieved through rituals and different actions.

The normal period of stay is one or two weeks depending on the course therefore pupils are not permanent residents of the school and nor they spend a substantial period in it. Therefore, the future must be understood in this weekly and limited frame. It is certainly possible to say that inmates are not being told or asked regarding their future in the institution. From their arrival, pupils simply follow the instructions, comply with the rules and respect the routine. However, there is also another important aspect to be considered, since pupils are not interested in what the future will be. This meaning that they do not want to know what is going to happen the following day or the week after. Not only are the keepers not sharing any details with them but most importantly, the inmates are not interested in

knowing them, being too busy with their life as it is. This could be explained partially by the fact that the pupils are aware that their stay will be limited. Knowing that there is already an established date when everything will end, hugely affects the pupils' predisposition towards their full immersion into the school practices and activities.

"No one thinks about "the after" ... you simply don't"
(INT. 13)^{F.P.}

Nevertheless, from the institution point of view, life is very repetitive, given the daily routine, therefore it does not encourage anyone to think about the future since everyone knows that every day will be the same, apart from the departure/arrival day. Still, the authorities consider time and the future differently since they oversee the organisation of the courses and the practical decisions in it. Every course has a program, both theoretical and practical, that must be completed by its end and it is the instructors' responsibility to do this while considering that, some variable, such as the weather conditions, could affect it. Therefore, instructors keep an eye on the following days to ensure a smooth and complete course.

In conclusion, the information about the future is not being shared by inmates and keepers at the school but, for different reasons, this is an action that none of them is interested in. The inmates are not interested in knowing what will happen, given the life's repetitiveness and the length of the experience, and the keepers are preventing them from knowing this, given the different responsibility and power position they have in the institution. Moreover, for more experienced inmates, the future cannot be considered a big mystery, since they have already participated in the practices before.

The absence of interest in the future, motivated by the level of the pupils' engagement in the life of the school, also connects with a wider process of mortification of Self. In fact, the school, by aiming to create a crew with a very strong sense of belonging and identity, tries to mitigate and mortify the everyday personal identities of the inmates as soon as they arrive. This is

considered essential to 'erase' the previous status of the pupils and for creating and building a new status relevant for the school and its crew on this 'Self clean sheet'. This greatly enhances the involvement and makes the pupils even less interested in knowing what will come next, since they become part of a wider group and they follow the events of the group. The new status and the new identity is achieved through different rituals and relevant moments, that mostly take place at the beginning and at the end of the period of stay.

4.2.2.7. Motives for Work

The seventh characteristic examined is related to the demands for work in the institutions. These are different from those in everyday life. The closeness of the setting certainly requires a different predisposition towards working and collaborating with other people. It cannot be denied that everyday life outside the sailing school has a huge component of cooperation and working alongside other people; however, at the CVC, cooperation and collaboration are brought to the extreme.

"Caprera is a place that pushes you... forces you to trust people..." (INT. 5)^{F.P.}

The idea of being part of a crew demands everyone's total commitment to the cause and to the group's aims. The motives for working, or participating, in the school activities are therefore related to the crew. Cooperation is essential for the life and everyone is expected to participate in the activities. For example, the comandata can be seen as a day of partial personal sacrifice during which a pupil devotes some of his/her time to help and provide for everyone else. Almost no one complains about this practice, since this is an inevitable step for everyone at the school. After a short stay, people generally realise how important it is to play their part in the overall balance; the different people in the setting are mutually necessary for one another

and realise how the different tasks required are all part of a more complex mechanism.

The motives for working in the setting are different from those of everyday life, given the high level of dependency required by the setting and the structure of the life. The school aims to diminish people's selfishness in favour of altruism and generosity, especially towards the group.

“We are all together and no one is left behind, because until everyone is ready you don't even start, until everyone is finished you do not move on to the next step. If someone has finished his/her unrigging, they help someone else with theirs, they do not just pretend nothing is going on” (INT. 2)^{M.P.}

The differences from everyday life are in this clear aim of creating an environment in which cooperation and collaboration are fundamental and in which people are willing to act accordingly. Certainly, there is also some peer pressure to consider, given that initially everyone is told what to do. However, after some time, they comply more easily with the general requirements but also with more detailed tasks not only because they are 'on-board' but also because of how they see their peers' behaviour. In addition, there is also the desire to learn a new sport and to fully participate in the experience, which includes the limited time frame of it. Therefore, when considering the motives for working, also the length of the stay must be considered.

4.2.2.8. Physical and Symbolic Barriers

The last characteristic of total institutions considers the isolation of the place, which creates a soft break from society, from a symbolic as well as a physical perspective. Without any doubt, the CVC can be considered an isolated institution in which the topology of the setting contributes to

isolating the school together with explicit actions that aim to increase the separation from the outside.

GG: “does the isolation help?”

(INT. 10)^{M.I.}: “Certainly, it is one of the most important aspects”

Physically the isolation of the place is achieved through different means. Firstly, there is the geography of the place: an island in the middle of an archipelago. Caprera is connected to La Maddalena with a bridge that is quite far away from the school and difficult to reach. Secondly, Caprera is not inhabited, therefore there is almost nothing else on the island besides the school and a few historical settlements. Thirdly, the school occupies a very specific area on the island where there are three bases and a road with only one access. The beginning of the school territory is signalled by a light blue gate that indicates a private property limit. This gate is not only a boundary for externals, who can still access the place even if only on foot, but, most importantly, it is the insuperable limit for anyone attending the school. No one is allowed to leave the setting without a proper authorisation which is very rarely granted. During fieldwork, I had multiple chances to inform and discuss with different people this rule that often leaves people surprised. People can freely roam around the different bases and the land from the gate to the last base but under no circumstances can they leave. This is a precise rule that can be connected to the idea of being on-board a tall ship. As if you were out at sea with no possibility of leaving the boat, it is not possible while taking a course. From a physical perspective, also the water right in front of the school, where the dinghies courses take place, is considered part of the school. Instead of a physical barrier in the water there is a perimeter, which can still be considered a boundary of the school.

However, there are exceptions; in fact, instructors, or people that normally attend the school, but that in that moment are not busy with a course but just stopping by, can have access but they are required to ask the HS for

permission beforehand. Usually, this permission is granted with the understanding that this 'intrusion/visit' does not interfere by any means with the normal activities of the day. Many times, during fieldwork colleagues and friends from outside came to visit but always before or after dinner, so that they could also be more unnoticed. The same cannot be said of the true externals which are often perceived as invaders and trespassers. Their 'invasion' is often solved by explaining to them that the school is private and they are not allowed to enter. Interestingly, this is true both if they come from by land as well as if they come by sea: reinforcing the idea that sea and land have the same connotation in the school's discourses and perception.

"It is good that we have the gate but also when you are out at sea in Porto Palma, there is that asshole that comes through and is invading your space. It is not just someone that comes through, it is THE asshole that is impeding us" (INT. 13)^{F.P.}

Symbolical isolation, which is achieved through practices, discourse, values, norms and partially also through rules is as important as physical isolation. Given the busyness of the life on the island and that every activity revolves around the sport of sailing, most of the discourse was related to the experiences in the sport. Therefore, very little attention is paid to what happens in the outside world.

"75% of what people talk about is related to what has been done on the boat" (INT. 5)^{F.P.}

Usually, people are not only uninterested in any kind of news or updates about society outside the school, but they are also barely interested in knowing what people are doing outside the school, since they do not find it relevant. Only on very rare occasions is this knowledge/symbolical boundary broken: for example, in 2016, when Italy played at the UEFA football championship, a lot of people gathered to follow the match on the radio and by phone. Language plays also an important role, since the recurrence of

technical terms and descriptions of situations that are only relevant and important within the setting enhances the idea of being in a completely different and isolated setting. Moreover, particular rules, like the one that prohibits pupils under 18 from drinking, even if the legal drinking age in Italy is 16, those that limit the use of mobile phones to only the rare moments of rest, or those that limit the access to certain areas, create a different perception of the school as a separate environment with its own laws. Finally, the values and norms are also essential in isolating the place. Even if some have already been mentioned, like sharing and collaborating, others still are hugely important and are very much related to the subculture of the place.

In conclusion, the CVC has both physical and symbolic barriers that are used to draw a line of separation between the life at the school, what happens within its boundaries and the outside world. The geography of the place is important for the isolation and the separation but the symbolic barriers highlight the explicit aims of the school of creating this division with the outside world. Rules, norms and values are extremely important to ensure a deeper level of detachment and a better commitment and involvement in the school's activities. Not having the possibility to leave certainly encourages people to commit more to the school and to embrace the different requests and requirements more happily. Moreover, it gives a different value to the overall experience. Being isolated is not seen as a limit by the frequenters but rather as a merit or an essential feature of the school. During the interviews, many people referred to the isolation in terms of protection from what happens outside. Therefore, the school is often framed to be separate and isolated from the rest of the world but with a positive connotation, specific to the CVC.

“There is a feeling of protection from external things.
The island takes away the fear of the uncertain” (INT.
3)^{M.P.}

“I never perceived the isolation as negative, as a limit” (INT. 2)^{M.P.}

4.2.2.9. Career, Resistance and Non-Total Features

In experiencing the setting for the first time, novices progress through a moral career as new members of the institution. They enter as normal people and they exit as part of a larger crew and institution in which they have learnt techniques and skills. As highlighted by Zurcher (1967), the self and the idea that everyone has of themselves is challenged in a total institution, by four different aspects and practices: the autonomy of actions, the personal economy of emotions, privacy and the individual picture of a physical person. It is possible to say that novices are socialised into the different characteristics and practices of the school. They have to learn how to behave and what is socially allowed and what is not. Therefore, it is possible to witness how the mortification of the self that they initially undergo is only the first aspect that they experience in this career. Within this spectrum, the moral career can be observed especially at the end of the stay in which novices embrace their new status and its new characteristics after they have been approved and socialised in the setting. The moral career is identifiable through a change in people’s behaviour as well as their disposition towards the different practices. Moreover, the discourse and actions change considerably during the course showing how people fully embrace the school’s particularities. Given how the career unfolds in time and the importance of the time frame, it is covered more in depth when dealing with the time frame and feature of the CVC.

The fact that the self is challenged during the stay in a total institution can often create forms of resistance, which, however, at the CVC is rarely witnessed. The very few situations in which resistance could be seen involved novices in the very first days of their stay and they could also be considered very minor expressions of resistance. For example, the

comandata and the general life arrangements are always harder during the first days, since people are not entirely convinced about what they should do and do not feel at ease carrying out those duties. Moreover, they have not witnessed anyone doing the same. After a few rounds, people understand more what to do and how necessary it is. A passage in one of the interviews shows a glimpse of this soft resistance and the mixed feeling that some of the pupils experienced during their stay:

“They [referring to some course mates] were very critical about the fact that they had to do the comandata, which I hate with all my heart, but it is something that must be done.... They said: ‘How come?! I go there and I pay, and I have to sleep in a common room with other people that snore, with disturbing noises’... and I think it is right, even if complicated to understand at the beginning, but is part of the Caprera package” (INT. 4)^{M.P.}

It is worth highlighting the soft aspect of this resistance episode: this discussion was something that happened among the pupils but none of them complained to us or to any other figure at the school. Moreover, the pupils still carried out their comandata as they should have done and lived as usual in the barracks. Therefore, no real action against the authorities or the school followed this complaint.

Another example can be witnessed during the unrigging phases at the end of the day. In general, pupils can leave only when everything is finished. If someone finishes their boat first they are asked or required to help their course mates and not just wait around for them to finish. The status of being part of the crew is generally quite difficult to implement from the beginning and usually requires the authority to chase pupils and force them to a certain extent. Pupils tend to find it hard to let their self-interest go as well tending to hold to their status as individuals rather than embrace the new one as members of the crew. Therefore, they try to resist by ignoring these common practices and by trying to avoid them. Nevertheless, with the

authority insisting, explaining and partially forcing the pupils into these practices, the resistance is often easily defeated. Usually, when people come back to the CVC for a second or a third time, being already aware of how things work, they happily comply and participate, since they perceive this feature to be also a distinctive trait of the school. The reasons for this general lack of resistance can be traced, perhaps, to the general positivity of the experience and also to the fact that the school does not engage in oppressive or repressive practices. Being also a place to which the vast majority of people decide to come also contributes to this, since pupils were not sentenced to join or forced, like in a prison. Therefore, in case of disagreement, they bear with the situation during their stay and then they simply decide to not come back the following year. However, the forms and shapes that resistance takes are covered more in depth in the analysis of power.

4.3. Conclusion: What Kind of Institution is the CVC?

In conclusion, the CVC is an institution in which people are ruled by authority, there is a tight schedule and formal rules, frequenters are divided into different statuses and roles, they are all treated alike based on these, there is no private life, all the activities are part of a plan, the self is challenged and partially mortified and, finally, it is isolated though physical and symbolical barriers. After discussing the individual elements on their own, it is now possible to draw some general conclusions. The school can be considered a total institution, as described by Goffman (1968a), and in particular it belongs to the fourth group: institutions purposely established to better pursue some work-like tasks which justify themselves only on these instrumental grounds. When presenting this group, Goffman uses the example of a ship which is surely the perfect example for the CVC as well. It is possible to consider the CVC as a ship, given how explicitly the school

shapes its dynamics to recreate the ship dynamics, even if practically it is land based.

The attempt to create an environment as similar as possible to a tall ship, can not only be seen in the explicit discourse in the field and in the school's purposes, but also in some of the essential features of the total institution which move slightly away from a more mainstream conception of such institutions.

“I understand that, behind this organisation, there is a thought or a strategy that I understood as a way of creating an experience” (INT. 1)^{M.P.}

Every element that is necessary to define a total institution can be identified at the school very clearly even if with some particularities. For example, the differentiation between members and supervisors shows how multifaceted the distinction between the inhabitants of the school is. The connection between the ship and the crew is highlighted by the discussion about the different statuses and roles; people are not just inmates or keepers but the positions have many more shades, especially from a hierarchical point of view, as in a ship crew. Furthermore, given the fact that no one, not even those that could be considered keepers, ever leaves the institution during the relevant period, the “keepers” do share some of the inmates' experiences. Moreover, not being able to leave and the idea of the ship pushing the boundaries with the external world even further since the caesura is deepened by the different, and in some cases new, status and the general great difficulty of keeping in contact with the outside world.

To a certain extent, the creation of such separation is done voluntarily and joining or participating in such institutions voluntarily could imply different meanings, significances and motivations for the experience. Scott (2010) revisited the concept of total institution, since, according to her, in modern times, the nature of these institutions has changed from “repressively coercive to relatively voluntaristic” (Scott, 2010: 214). Therefore, starting

from reconsidering the agency of the inmates and its role, she proposes a new concept: 'Reinventive Institutions' (RI). When discussing total institutions, inmates are often framed as powerless and without any agentic power but, according to Scott, they do have power in negotiating, framing, and eventually resisting the context. Therefore, they can also be empowered to a certain extent, and not just repressed by the total institution's dynamics, similarly as it happens at the CVC. This new emphasis on the inmate's agency together with the different level of totality that can be found and the changed nature of total institutions in time creates these institutions. RIs can be defined as "places to which people retreat for periods of intense self-reflection, education, enrichment and reform, but under their own volition" (Scott, 2010: 218). These institutions are primarily different in the aims since they are apparently benevolent and beneficial for the self. For example, an RI could aim to provide therapeutic support, empowerment or self-actualisation for its members. The mortification or 'loss of self' must be reconsidered, since participants willingly give up the old self for a new and better one. The CVC can be quite reasonably considered part of such institutions (RI) even if some specificities and particularities must be taken into account. The vast majority of people who participate in the school's activities do so voluntarily and this creates a differentiation from some of the more traditional total institutions. However, the CVC, I believe, does not fully fit the notion of RI, since these aim towards "intense self-reflection, education, enrichment and reform" (Scott, 2010: 218) and the impression is that Scott particularly refers to environments in which self-improvement is at the centre of the experience. In fact, Scott argues that frequenters of RIs are willing to "discard" (Scott, 2010: 219) their old selves while hoping to find a better one, but this does not seem the case at the CVC. Most of people attend this institution without any particular hope of finding a better self but rather with the idea of learning or improving in a new sport. Even if the novices may have heard about the "spirit" and the particularities of the

place, the main motivation is still related to sailing. Once there, regardless of being novices or not, they happen to find an environment in which they then discard their old selves for, as I argue in the following chapter, a temporarily different one. Therefore, what appears to be missing in the CVC frequenters in relation to RI is that initial intent or aim to look for an improved or better self. However, the different initial motivation, at least for those who attend the school for the first time, should be taken into account. Therefore, the CVC could be considered somewhere in between an RI and a more traditional Goffmanesque total institution, given the partial relevance of the voluntary participation and the more modern times in which it exists.

However, apart from definitions, what is relevant is to see how the explicit creation of a total institution or RI is important for the implementation of other important aspects of the school. Similarly to other institutions, the total structure has its importance and meaning but it can be seen as a sort of experiential tool for the school to implement the more crucial ideas-values of the crew and the relative mindset and dispositions that are then connected to the notion of spirit and the place's advocated uniqueness. There is, to a certain extent, a 'moral' connotation related to the institution, which is discussed in the later chapters. Moreover, the process of recreation and reproduction of ship dynamics stresses the different and most important elements of the school more. The attention given to the hierarchy or the different statuses shows how keen the school is to make the experience more relevant in this regard. Especially, from the perspective of the frequenters, as shown in the interviews, some of these features are an essential part and aspect of the life and the experience that would not be the same without them.

In the analysis of the spirit and how this is created, acknowledging the setting as a total institution is a first and very important step, since it creates the structural condition for the rise of the intangible. Within the context of

this totality, the spirit can rise, since it is clearly limited and restricted by the boundaries of the institution. Describing and understanding the institution from this perspective means explaining the container of everything else that also happens in the setting.

4.3.1. Theoretical Relevance

The analysis of the school as a total institution is also relevant for the current state of theory and literature in sport to which the research can contribute.

Firstly, it is relevant for the study of the different types and groups of total institutions. The idea of studying tall ships and total institutions or of using this notion in relation to sailing is something that has partially already been covered by Zurcher (1965 & 1967). Therefore, the analysis of the school reinforces and updates the idea that ships can be seen as total institutions and belong to this analytical category. However, there is an important distinction that has to be underlined in relation Zurcher's and Goffman's studies. They both discuss real tall ships, whereas this study is focusing on a land-based school which aspires to replicate the ships' way of life. This analysis not only updates the relevance of the relationship between ships and total institutions but also highlights the mechanisms that are necessary to recreate a similar environment in a different context. The replication process tends to highlight more explicitly the important characteristics necessary to consider tall ships as total institutions, something that has never been looked at in ocean cruising studies. Moreover, the study also brings a new element of analysis related to the context of the institution. The research setting cannot be seen as a military or navy context but rather as a leisure and sport context in which sailing is at the centre of everything. The analysis of the reproduction of the different characteristics shows how tall ships and sailing ships in general are seen by people who actually

practice this sport. Therefore, it brings together and highlights some of the essential elements of the sport of sailing.

Secondly, the analysis can also be related to the studies of the effects of total institutions on people. Total institutions are usually seen as oppressive and repressive structures in which people are annihilated, mortified and demolished and the experience of the self, which tends to be transformed, is seen as negative. However, in certain types of institutions, although some of these processes may still occur, the outcome is extremely different (Glouberman, 1990). It cannot be denied that within the CVC there is a process of mortification of the self and a general challenge towards the everyday self. However, the outcomes of this challenge are not repressive or negative and are only partially transformative. After the participant observation and the interviews, it is clear that the effects are positive and creative, therefore the opposite of what normally happens in other total institutions. The sense of belonging, love for the setting and the spirit are also products of the total institution. No one, even those very few people who would not repeat the experience, perceived the setting in a negative way. Some stressed more the tendency to control people's lives but the general positivity of the whole experience was underlined many times for example through the narrative of protection. Being isolated and separated is synonymous with protection in the setting and this also why many of the outsiders and externals are perceived as invaders, as they break this environment. Therefore, the research and its institutional part helps to expand the study of new or evolved forms of total institutions, like those presented by Scott (2010). The voluntarily participation in the activities of the CVC or other similar leisure institutions could help rethink and reconsider the original notion of total institutions. In addition, it may also shed light on the effects on the self, not only in terms of being positive or negative but in terms of effectiveness. If more 'classical' total institutions try to completely transform the self to, for example, reintegrate the person in

society and RIs aim to improve the self, the effect of the CVC on it seems different. Apart from a more general sense of belonging to the community, the self that is created at the school seems to be limited and bounded within the institution. During everyday life or outside the school it does not seem to have consequences and its relevancy is extremely tied to the institution, as I cover in the (sub)culture chapter. How the self is transformed, improved or changed is also something that should perhaps be considered when looking at the ways in which these institutions are changing and adapting. As this study demonstrates, a long-lasting effect on the self is not absolutely necessary and perhaps a smaller change or the creation of a situated self should be considered among the possible effects of total institutions alongside their positivity or negativity.

Chapter 5

Time

The Centro Velico Caprera, as previously explained, can be regarded as a total/reinventive institution in which people share every moment with others. The third characteristic of these institutions, according to Goffman (1968), is the existence of a schedule that controls the life of the inmates. Given how important this schedule is and the great effect it has on the experience, it is worth explaining in more depth its functioning. Moreover, it appears that some of these moments gain a different significance for the frequenters and become rituals. While routines are “repeated over time, with little interaction and can be directly and clearly observed from an outsider” (Spagnola and Fiese, 2007:10), rituals may not be that easily identifiable and understandable, especially in their meanings. In fact, what appears to differentiate routines and rituals is the degree of significance they hold for actors. Within sport, according to Goodger (1986), rituals serve a double purpose. On the one hand, rituals support the shared aspects within group life; on the other hand, they also sustain the internal division especially in relation to status.

When in the field, this theme emerged in a stronger way than initially expected and quite spontaneously from the frequenters when I asked about the setting peculiarities. Often different frequenters framed this theme not just in terms of something personal but also collective. The reason for deciding to divide the experience in these categories and for relating them to the analytical tools set out by Cipriani (2013) and Lewis and Weigert (1981), can be traced to the aim of respecting the frequenters’ voice and opinion. By recurring to these tools, I am trying to provide the same impression of a mixed time experience that the frequenters expressed. In order to do so, I firstly describe in more depth how the schedule unfolds

during a normal stay. Secondly, I illustrate and discuss the analytical tools used to analyse the setting from the perspective of time to respect this twofold experience. Finally, I relate the analysis to the data collected to analyse and explain the role, importance of time and effects it has on the experience in general and on the creation of a collective spiritual essence.

5.1. Time in the setting

This first section explains the structure of time in the setting: the daily, weekly routines and it also focuses on the perception of time and its relation to sailing.

5.1.1. The Schedule and Its Characteristics

At the CVC, life is controlled by a severe timetable; the daily routine is rigidly implemented from the very beginning of the stay and the different island authorities make sure that it is respected consistently every day. No one at the school is exempted from respecting the routine. During the first instructors' meeting of every week, in which the HS composes the different course teams, he always reminds everyone about the importance of respecting the schedule and sometimes he even repeats it to everyone. Special attention is given to the comandata and its timing. The essential steps of the routine, which have remained the same since 1967, are the following:

- **06.00:** The comandata wakes up.
- **06.30:** Everybody else wakes up.
- **07.00:** Breakfast.
- **07.45:** Morning lesson.
- **08.00-12.30:** Morning activities.
- **13.00:** Lunch.
- **14.00:** Afternoon lesson.
- **14.30-19.30:** Afternoon activities.

- **20.00:** Dinner.
- **21.00:** Evening lesson.
- **23.00:** Silence.

The comandata must be in the kitchen one hour before the beginning of the meal to help with the relevant activities.

The routine remains the same every day except on Saturdays, the day on which people arrive and leave the island. The routine during Saturdays has to be slightly changed:

<i>Leaving:</i>	<i>Arriving:</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 06.00: Comandata wakes up. ○ 06.30: Everybody wakes up. ○ 07.00: Breakfast. ○ 07.45-12.30: Preparing luggage, cleaning & fixing boats and report cards ○ 13.00: Lunch. ○ 14.00-14.30: Departure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 14.00-14.30: Arrival ○ 15.00-16.00: Presentations ○ 16.15-19.00: Rigging explanation and capsizing try-out. ○ 20.00: Dinner. ○ 21.00: Evening lesson. ○ 23.00: Silence.

5.1.2. Schedule Variability, Structural or Accidental

The schedule is the backbone of the life at the school and of every course. However, it is still possible for it to change somewhat under certain circumstances. Some of these belong to a structural sphere, while others are due to extraordinary causes.

In the area of the structural and planned circumstances, a cause for variability could be found in the level of the courses. The more advanced a course is, the more 'freedom' the school allows it to have. These circumstances belong to a general explicit aim of the school to differentiate between novices' courses and advanced ones not only through different boats or advanced exercises, but also through time. Among the five different dinghies levels, this time variability particularly applies to the last two. However, the notion of freedom still needs to be put into context, since it is

still within an institution that aims to control time. In fact, the only and major difference that can be found regards lunch time. Every novices' course must be back for lunch at precisely 1pm every day, while the other courses do not. The more advanced courses, for the vast majority of the week, have a packed lunch that is prepared very early in the morning by the cooks. The CT decides, based on the wind and weather conditions, when it is best to eat. For example, it is possible to eat very early in the morning so that the time out at sea during the afternoon will be longer or stay out for longer in the morning and have a late lunch. This is a decision over which the HS or the OP normally have no power; what they can do, instead, is advice the CT about the best course of action for the day. The comandata for those that are doing these courses works in the same way and they still take care of the lunch by preparing it and cleaning afterwards. The only difference is that they do it only for the course rather than for everyone else.

The reason for this different treatment of the courses based on the experience and technical level is to privilege the sailing aspect of the life. Being able to be more flexible with the management of the day allows the courses to not waste any possible wind conditions. The school seems to believe that, at this point in the career, the sailing aspect can be treated differently from before. Nevertheless, this flexibility can only be applied to lunches and, only in certain cases, to the morning and afternoon lessons, since the rest of the daily appointments are the same. The fact that the flexibility is focused only on the 'sea hours' highlights that the school is willing to provide a better sailing programme by allowing some flexibility. The same freedom is not extended to the rest of the courses since, given the low technical level, it would not create any significant results. Moreover, it could also be said that given how time can change the experience of the school, having all the courses with this structure would probably affect the perception of the total institution which is very important in the beginning of the career. In fact, the initial socialisation sets the tone for any future stays

also shapes the 'Caprerini' (the name frequenters use to refer to their identity as members of Caprera) as members of the school and the community. Once taking part in the third or fourth course, pupils already possess a certain understanding of the place, given what they have experienced during previous stays, therefore these little changes alter their perception of the place but not as radically as they would have done if the routine had been more flexible since the first one. The rigidity of the routine is extremely important in socialising the novices to the place. Therefore, the very partial change of routine is something that is applied based on the sailing level and therefore to the advanced courses only to which the school grants more freedom and better chances to navigate. Moreover, it can also be interpreted as a sign of a status shift among the pupils from novices to more experienced ones.

The routine can also change when something unexpected happens. However, over the length of the entire fieldwork this only happened once, during the second period of fieldwork in July. For the previous few weekends before this episode, the workers of the main airline company that flies to Sardinia from major Italian cities had been on strike. Therefore, all the flights were cancelled or delayed both to and from Sardinia. Naturally, this created some difficulties for the school during the Saturdays. After the beginning of the courses had been hugely delayed on a Saturday and almost the entire afternoon had been completely lost, the HS decided to change the routine to lose the least possible time. On this occasion, he decided to swap the arrivals with the departures. Normally, the 'Charon' takes the new pupils from Sardinia to the school first. Once it has unloaded the new arrivals, it then takes those that have just finished and brings them back to the land. This allows the new courses to start as soon as possible given the great number of things that need to be carried out in the first afternoon. Therefore, in July 2016, the HS decided to swap the arrivals with the departures and this meant moving lunch 45 minutes before the usual time

to allow the time to eat. When discussing this measure with him he stated that this was the very last resort and that he wished it was not necessary because changing the routine is always problematic. In fact, when implementing this change in our courses we also had to modify all the previous activities so that everything would line up. After breakfast we rushed to all the activities so that we could be at lunch on time. During the two periods of fieldwork these kinds of changes never happened again.

Therefore, the schedule is rigidly implemented by the school but its structure still has a certain degree of variability. For the novices' courses, the changes are often caused by unforeseen reasons, while in the advanced courses, this change in the routine is something that is already part of the school's structure and is therefore expected to happen. Also, the pupils are aware of this before attending an advanced course, since they have witnessed it in their previous stays. It is done with the intention that pupils can have a better sailing experience but ultimately it involves only three of the main appointments of the day, showing that, even if it is variable, it still has a light overall impact. It is possible to say that the only true variability in the routine is the one that is caused by extraordinary events, like in the case of the airline company. The willingness to change the routine as little as possible underlines how much the school relies on it to build the experience. Moreover, it shows how some of these moments, regardless of sailing or extraordinary events, are considered non-negotiable.

5.1.3. Activity-Based Time Perception

The influence and importance that time has in the setting can be also identified when examining the general frequenters' perception of time in relation to the activities. Overall, frequenters frame their stay as very intense and almost without pauses. It is interesting to witness how this

perception is not always equally consistent and, even if the days are very busy, different elements can influence the perception.

People's time perception can be influenced by the different activities that take place during the days. For example, during Saturdays, pupils experience the day differently. When leaving, since there is no sailing activity, the day slows down and the impression is that the rhythm is slower. Sentences like these could be heard very frequently: "I hate Saturdays, time never passes" or "can't we go sailing? How else are we supposed to pass the time?!" While, when arriving, the pupils are immediately thrown into the new routine and the impression they have is the opposite; everything appears to be faster and chaotic. Some pupils would even complain that they "barely had time to unpack our bags, could you give us some time?". However, also the activities, mainly the sport of sailing can have a very important impact on the time perception. Being the core of the day and the aspect which the day is mostly oriented towards, how the sailing activity goes can hugely effect the general perception of time. Different aspects can have an influence on sailing but one of the most important is without a doubt the wind. The geographical site on which the island is located is normally characterised by very good wind conditions for sailing. This area, called Strait of Bonifacio, is recognised as one of the windiest zones in the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, generally the sailing conditions are very good and allow a constant and good activity throughout the days. Nevertheless, it can happen that certain days are too windy or not windy at all. The school's policy is to try to get as many boats as possible into the water up to a maximum limit beyond which everyone's safety cannot be guaranteed. For example, on extremely windy days, the number of boats is reduced for every course, so that everyone can still sail in a safe environment, since the power boats have fewer boats to look after. There are even more extreme cases in which the wind is too strong and no one is allowed to sail. In these situations, since the school's only purpose is sailing, the alternative activities are extremely few

if not zero. Sometimes it is possible to take a walk to the nearby “fortress” or just relax on one of the small beaches within the school’s perimeter. In these rare situations, apart from the general disappointment of wasting a potentially profitable afternoon or morning, the general feeling is that time never passes and it is quite a challenge for the instructors to find suitable activities. Even if the courses engage in some alternative activities, these are not enough to give the same time perception as sailing and boredom gets the upper hand. It could be inferred, then, that sailing, at the school, is the best, if not the only way of passing time and the one activity that ensures the perception that time is moving swiftly. However, at this point, it is worth considering the situation in which the wind is practically zero. In fact, similarly to when there is a very strong wind, the school always sends the boats out at sea even if there is barely any wind. In these cases, the perception of time is very similar to the one of the opposite wind situation. Pupils are sent out to sea to float around, and even in this situation the time perception considerably changes and becomes slower. Whereas, when the day is good from a weather perspective, the time, especially in the water, flies by incredibly quickly.

Even if the idea that when you are doing something fun or interesting time flies by is not something special or particular to the place since and it certainly belongs to every life and it is something that everyone experiences, what is interesting about this from an analytical perspective is how nature, particularly the wind, and sailing, have an effect on the how people perceive time. During some of these alternative activities during fieldwork, I asked some of the frequenters how they felt about this. The answers were quite interesting, since they showed that too little wind or too much wind did not make any difference in terms of time perception. Too much or too little meant that time was slow in any case, everything in between would have been perceived as fast. Being stuck on a boat doing nothing or going for a walk or even staying on one of the beaches equally, and badly, influenced

their time perception. Therefore, weather conditions, as well as the routine, have an effect on how people perceive time in the setting and, therefore, given the importance of time in the experience, also on how they perceive the school itself.

5.2. Time & Analytical Tools

Routine and rituals had originally been considered in the literature review as concepts that could have some importance in the setting. However, after the different periods of fieldwork, I realised that they hold more importance than what initially thought. Therefore, I felt the need to deepen the explanation of how time in general was influencing the experience together with its perception.

In order to explain how time affects the creation of the spirit of Caprera, analytical tools are drawn from the two articles in the literature: Lewis and Weigert's (1981) "The Structures and Meaning of Social Time" and Cipriani's (2013) "The Many Faces of Social Time: a Sociological Approach". The notions expressed in these articles will then be considered in relation with the setting characteristics and data.

Lewis and Weigert's (1981) article, based on Merton and Sorokin's (1937) article on social time, proposes a paradigm for the sociology of time by presenting different typologies of social time based on different levels of social structure. Time is normally seen as a succession of physical events, like the movements of the stars, but it can also be "humanized" (Lewis and Weigert's, 1981: 433) by creating social events as temporal points of reference. In fact, life is highly permeated by social time in the different social structures that can be recognised in it. Lewis and Weigert (1981) decide to divide social time into three main categories based on the "most

common division represented in existing theories of social structure” (Lewis and Weigert, 1981: 434): individual, group and cultural structure.

The individual level or “Self time” and its conception are partially based on Heidegger's (1972) reflections on time and on the central role that a subject plays in creating time, or at least temporal demarcations. The presence and the existence of a subject is essential for distinguishing past, present and future, since it is around him/her that these notions are created and acknowledged. “Self time” can be considered as a sense of “when” a person is in relation to different social events.

Within society, interactions of different kinds occur and these create “Interaction time” and “Institutional time”, which are related to the group level. The flow of the “Interaction time” is dependent on the actions as well as the rules of the interaction itself, like different speaking turns.

“Interaction time” can also be part of temporal orders related to formal institutions and cultures and in these cases it takes the shape of “Institutional time”. Within the institutional domain, individual organisations, such as schools, normally create their own schedule and time rules and they operate with a linear time, as opposed to circular. The difference between these two is that, in linear time, a person or an object passes through nonrepetitive or irregularly repetitive temporal frameworks.

However, in industrial societies, “Institutional time” structures and “Cultural time” structures (days, week or seasons) have different forms, since cultural structures recur in cycles (“Cyclical time”) and not linearly. Therefore, “Cultural time” also needs to be considered when considering social time. In particular, there are three different “Cultural time” structures that can be recognised. The first is the daily round, the second is the weekly routine and the third is the yearly seasons.

Even if they have been separately considered, these times have different points of contact that result in the temporal stratification related to ‘time

embeddedness': according to which social acts are normally part of larger social acts and they do not occur in a complete isolated reality.

In particular, institutional time is more relevant in relation to interaction time and the latter to self-time. Therefore, self-time is submerged under the other types of time which can be considered more structured and more related to social order as well.

Cipriani (2013) also tackles the question of time and how it has been analysed in the sociological and anthropological contexts. The most relevant part of the article for the analysis is in the conclusion: Cipriani concludes that time cannot be considered as something homogeneous but rather heterogeneous and multi-faceted and that its aspects are distributed differently in different contexts. Even its perception is not something fixed and clearly understandable in an unequivocal way. Therefore, definitions of time are complicated and require numerous adjustments, clarifications and specifications. Therefore, Cipriani (2013: 26) proposes a

Categorisation [that] might be founded on four modalities that an empirical analysis can help to identify as the existential path followed by every social individual.

This categorisation is composed of four different categories: micro-time, meso-time, macro-time and mega-time.

Micro-time is the experience of an instant or an easily controllable time frame. Therefore, it concerns a very small moment that is often perceived as very fast. It can also be seen as the basic moment that constitutes time.

Meso-time can be considered the product of the sum of micro-times. It is framed in terms of an existence based on the sequence of different moments, experiences and phases combined.

Macro-time concerns also other regions that are not reached by micro and meso-time. It concerns periods, events, people or experiences that have

passed or that will come. It is constituted by the sum of periods, events, things that precede contemporaneousness and/or will follow it.

Finally, Mega-time regards “time without time” (Cipriani, 2013: 27). Therefore, it concerns time from its origin until its hypothetical end. It can be understood as time in own existence and therefore a-temporal.

In order to clarify the different points, Cipriani (2013) refers to a geometrical analogy in which micro-time corresponds to a point, meso-time to a section, macro-time to a large segment of a line and mega time to a line with an unknown origin and end. In the development of the chapter, these concepts are used to create an analogy and to better show the stratification of time in the setting.

5.3. Analysis

The different categories identified by the analytical tools are merged, combined together and applied at the same time to the data to highlight the different aspects of the issue considered and to create new categories. The discussion follows the normal chronological order of the events as they unfold for novices in the setting. Novices, who are normally coming to the CVC for the first time, experience these processes in a deeper way, as the stay is mostly their first. Therefore, the analysis is mainly focused on their experience but many aspects of it are relevant also for experienced pupils.

In the analysis, Cipriani’s thought is used to create a link between time and frequenters as individuals or groups. Given how these concepts refer to different time-spheres of increasing ‘size’, they are used in relation to the different groups that can be identified at the school and that influence the school experience. Lewis and Weigert’s categories are used in relation to different time ‘frames’ that can be identified. The concepts are merged

since, in the construction of the time experience, every time frame can be related to a social group.

5.3.1. Self/Micro-Time

The first level at which novices experience time is their personal level. This level can be considered the smallest 'unit' in which it is possible to have such an experience, therefore it corresponds to micro-time and in relation to the social structure we can consider it as self-time. People normally attend the sailing school during their holidays which is time away from usual daily life. Vacation time can be considered to be freedom from the regulatory constraints of normality and the possibility to experience time and rhythms not imposed by work (Ryan, 2002). Consequently, it is also possible to see it as freedom from what normally oppresses us. It could appear to be contradictory the fact that people appear to be willing to have their life controlled in the setting this being their vacation time. Two different reasons, strictly related to time, can be found in relation to why letting control over self/micro-time appears to be almost without resistance. Firstly, it is important to highlight that pupils are well aware that their stay is limited in time. Therefore, they have a better disposition towards the experience and the rules that the school imposes. This time awareness creates a sort of commitment to the experience. This idea was clearly revealed in the interviews:

"There are some things which you can think about distancing yourself from and you are able to do it, but only for a limited period of time. However, if this was something with no end or that lasted for a very very long time, naturally you could not relate to it in the same way... for two weeks I really cannot worry about anything... it is a time when you cannot think about your normal life, if this time was 3 months you could not nullify the life you have in the remaining nine months. Therefore, you would have

to bring some elements that you have at home, your normal home, to Caprera" (INT. 7)^{F.P.}

Secondly, the school is able to reduce the resistance and 'bring all the novices on board' through a few key moments during the first Saturday afternoon. As said, the rhythm of the Saturday afternoons, for those who have just arrived, is quite tight since they are thrown into at the deep end. Among the problems related to being in a new environment, there are three moments that appear to be particularly relevant. The first moment happens right after the pupils' arrival. Everyone gathers in the main common room where the Head of the School (HS) and the instructors welcome everyone. The HS introduces himself and the instructors, then welcomes everybody and explains how the environment on the island is informal and everyone must be addressed informally. He then proceeds with the roll call and the division into the different courses by calling everyone with their first name and only in the case of homonymy with their surname. From this moment onwards, everyone is addressed just with his/her first name and nothing else, authorities included. After this presentation, every pupil follows their instructors to a dedicated area where they are presented with the course. This presentation, the second key moment, is made by the Head of the Course (CT), who is the highest authority that every course has. He/she introduces the basic rules of the school and spends a great deal of time presenting and explaining the routine and how important it is that everyone respects it. Moreover, he/she emphasises the fact the everyone is now part of a crew, composed of everyone in the course, and that everything in the following week(s) is carried out as a group. Every movement or activity is done together and everyone is expected to do their part and help everyone else in doing theirs. After this short presentation, everyone is invited to get ready for the capsizing try-out, the third moment. Once arrived at the boats, the rigging is briefly explained and then everyone is thrown into the water with the challenge of turning a capsized dinghy the right way up. Even if described separately these moments can be seen to belong to a more

comprehensive ritual of mortification of the self (Goffman, 1968a), which can be witnessed in every total institution, since it is caused by its structure and characteristics (Karmel, 1969). Even if the process cannot be considered as harsh or severe as it is in other total institutions, like prisons, it still has a quite clear effect. In fact, the self/micro-time is characterised by the fact that a novice is immediately challenged by a process that aims to mortify his/her Self. Through this process, forms of resistance diminish and tend to disappear leaving everyone more open to the implementation of the rules, including the routine. Moreover, the capsized try-out appears to be a sort of purification ritual in which the water and the activity of sailing officially draw a line between the outside world and the stay on the island. As said by one of the instructors in the interviews:

“... the first Saturday is fundamental because it gives the imprinting [to the pupils] ...” (9).

In conclusion, the first level at which time has an effect in the creation of a collective essence or spirit of the place is at a self/micro level. This small personal level challenges the person's every day Self through a ritual of mortification of Self which is highly effective due to the limited stay in the school and thanks to which people are more willing to participate and take part in it. Pupils start to feel part of a wider entity in which they need to put aside their individuality in favour of the crew-group. It is important to underline the context of such processes. Being in a total institution, as previously explained, prevents the 'inmates' from gaining information about their future and their time trajectory. Pupils especially tend to have a self-time which is almost solely concentrated on the present and the actions they are performing in that moment. Nevertheless, at this stage, the pupils participate in these dynamics mostly because they are being told to do so but they have not fully internalised this idea yet.

5.3.2. Interaction/Meso-Time

After the first day and the first experiences in the setting, the normal routine gets implemented. The implementation brings about the rise of a second level of time perception: the interaction/meso-time. The pupils are starting, quite quickly, to interact with one another and to get a better understanding of the school's purpose as well as its demands. They spend a great deal of time socialising and creating the crew/group heavily invoked by the authorities in the day(s) before. The socialisation occurs mostly with their course mates since about 75% of the day is spent sailing or in sailing-related activities with them. Therefore, the interaction time is related to the group of course mates. It can also be considered as primary both for quantitative as well as for qualitative reasons. This time represents the meeting point of each pupils' and instructors' self-time. As the days go by, this time becomes more important and central for the experience of the place. The role of the instructors and in particular of the CT is quite important when considering the interaction/meso-time. The CT is responsible for maintaining the discipline in the course, including respecting the routine. Time management is one of his/her most important responsibilities. In fact, the school routine allows little flexibility in some of its parts for practical organisational reasons. Normally he/she manages time following his/her own "style" which remains consistent throughout the week(s). This 'style' combined with the school routine is at the base of the creation of a course rhythm.

In social sciences, one of the authors who have contributed to the notion of rhythm is Lefebvre (2004). According to Lefebvre, rhythm is not revealed just by any repetition that occurs in time but other elements are essential to its creation. Rhythms are based on different times returning in accordance with an identifiable rule or law (Lefebvre 2004: 78). Therefore, to have time, two different conditions must be present: marked and distinguishable temporal elements that can also be opposite or contrasting and an overall movement

that includes all these elements. In the case of the sailing school, the rhythm is created by the rules imposed by the everyday routine together with the decisions taken by the CT. These elements combined create a sort of 'movement' that is the basis for experiencing and feeling the rhythm of the course. Every course has its own rhythm even if it is based on the same routine which applies to everyone. For example, after two days, everyone would know that they have about ten minutes to be ready between lectures or sailing, whereas other courses may have more or less time. Nevertheless, its effect for novices appears to be amplified, this being their first experience. The rhythm is quite important in the stay in the school and allows people to "exit from your usual temporal scanning which you are used to" (INT. 5)^{F.P.}. In fact, based on this time experience that touches everyone equally, the crew/group starts to have highly relevant common experiences and moments. Pupils are really starting to feel part of the group in which there is a continuous encouragement for individual differences to be put aside. The mortification of the self together with the rhythm on which the common everyday activities and experiences are based, results in the creation of strong sense of belonging in a crew/group. This is, for instance, demonstrated by the creation of nicknames and catchphrases. Both are created when something funny or silly is done or happens within the group or to one of the group members. From that moment on, the person is identified by his/her nickname which in some cases can last forever. Some people embrace their nickname, therefore also their new status in the group, so deeply that sometimes they refuse to be called by their real names. Catchphrases, on the other hand, relate more to situations or something that has been said in a particular moment. Normally, they are repeatedly said over and over during the days and sometimes can also become a motto for the crew/group. It is quite common for members of other courses to not understand the nicknames and the catchphrases used within another group.

The effects of meso-time on the general experiences and on the relationships between people in the field was also highlighted by one particular episode during the second fieldwork period. The June period at the school is often characterised by a lack of instructors but also by a great presence of pupils. Therefore, creating adequate and good teams of instructors is always quite hard for the HS. The general idea of keeping the same instructors for the two-week courses sometimes falls short due to this lack of instructors. In particular, in June 2016, I started a two-week initiation course with two other instructors and two AdVs. Apart from one of the AdVs and me, the rest of the team was only going to stay for the first week. Therefore, the pupils expected that, by the end of the first week, I would take over as a CT and other instructors and perhaps one other AdV would join us. Nevertheless, at the end of the week since none of the recently arrived instructors had the expertise of doing the advanced course that was about to start, the HS moved me and the AdV to that course, leaving our 'old' two-week initiation course with an entirely new team. Immediately after lunch on Saturday, as the schedule dictates, we left the 'old' group so that we could meet with the new one. Therefore, from the afternoon we were separated and everyone took care of their own activities. In leaving our 'old' course it also happened that we had to move base. Once the activities with the new course had finished for that day, the AdV and I started walking back to our base and we passed by the little beach where the boats for the second week of the initiation courses are kept. Our 'old' pupils were still there taking part in the swimming test and so we decided to stop by and say hello from the road, without properly going down to avoid disturbing them. A few of them spotted us while coming out of the water, immediately they screamed our names and started walking towards us. It was in this moment that I realised something unusual was happening; the way in which the greetings happened and the general feeling I had about seeing them. In fact, even though we had only been apart four or five hours, it was like we had

not seen each other in days. The feeling was the same as when you meet a good old friend after a long time. Affection and tenderness were the predominant feelings as well as a sort of parental attachment. In a few moments, we were surrounded by all thirty pupils who just wanted to say hello or know what we had done that afternoon without them, how the new pupils were, if we were missing them as much as they missed us, when we would have come to visit them in the other base and so on. The more the situation went on, the more the feeling that something unusual was happening increased. After a few minutes we left, leaving them with their new instructors. We started walking again towards our base but neither I nor the other AdV said anything for about five minutes, probably stunned and confused by what had just happened. I then broke the silence and asked how she felt about what had just happened. The AdV told me very clearly that she had felt the same and added:

“it was like we were the parents and they were our children who we had not seen in a very long time... it was so strange!”

When I then thought about what had happened, I started to think why being separated for only a few hours would trigger such a deep reaction and deep feelings. Some of the reasons for the creation of such an attachment are covered in the later chapters, but there was certainly a time-related component. Changing courses meant changing routine and most importantly rhythm. The few hours that we spent separated had been spent based on a totally different rhythm, from our side this was caused by having to start a course with new pupils, while for them there was the sudden change of authority, which, as said, has power over the rhythm. This change is what, in my opinion, triggered this sensation of having been separated for a long time and therefore also boosted the other feelings. Again, time, and in particular rhythm, seemed to have had a very strong effect on everyone by enhancing and catalysing the different feelings. This particular episode, experienced by chance, reveals how deep and how important the interaction/meso-time

component can be in the setting and how much it is also necessary for experiencing some of the other interesting features of the CVC.

In conclusion, the interaction/meso-time is the second level on which time has an effect in creating a collective essence of the place. In this case, a crew/group's sense of belonging and perhaps identity, which can be witnessed through nicknames and catchphrases, is created based on common experiences and activities that are grounded in the course rhythm. This rhythm is the result of a combination of the fixed routine of the school and the choices made in relation to time management by the CT.

5.3.3. Institutional/Macro-Time

The pupils at the school not only interact with their course mates but also with the other attendees. This happens at different times and in different moments during the days. In particular, these interactions happen during meals, in the school dormitories or in the free-time that occurs mostly at night. Therefore, this level of time applies to everyone who is present at the school during the same period of stay. It can also be considered as secondary interaction time being quantitatively less than the time spent with the course mates and qualitatively different. However, it is no less important for the creation of the CVC collective essence. Even if still influenced by sailing, which is the topic mainly discussed, the interactions often touch on different elements more related to everyday life. Pupils discuss their origins, their occupations, their hobbies, what they like or dislike and in general they tend to refer to their everyday status by addressing their daily life in terms of "real life" or "the real world". Based on how they frame their everyday life, even if perhaps they do not realise it, they are also framing the school experience as separate and clearly detached from the rest of the year. This framing enforces the idea of being in a sort of disconnected environment. Therefore, the relationship with the other

people who are attending the school at the same time plays an important role in creating a sense of totality and separation from the outside world. Pupils from a certain course are able to witness that other pupils are respecting the same rules, times and norms as they are. Therefore, they do not see their course as being an exception in the setting but they see their course being mostly run like the others. Meeting other pupils and being forced to respect the same points in time, like meals, also creates another sort of rhythm. This rhythm is different from that of the course and can be seen as a sort of more institutional rhythm, given that it applies to everyone in the institution: "This rhythm allows you to detach from everyday life" (5). This institutional time/rhythm creates another level of experience for the novices attending the school: one which, to a certain extent, resembles that of 'inmates' (Glouberman, 1990) in total institutions.

Institutional/macro-time relates to everyone that is staying in the setting during the same weeks and more specifically to those who share the same base. This time results in them experiencing the place on a more institutional level, given that they feel, through interactions, ways of addressing everyday life and by witnessing others respecting the same rules, part of an institution. Moreover, a more institutional rhythm is also created as a consequence of these processes. This wider rhythm applies to everyone. We can consider this particular time to fall under the category of macro-time, since it is also the result of the combination of different course rhythms (meso-time).

A very significant moment that takes place daily and works in this regards is without a doubt the raising and lowering of the flag. It is a general nautical tradition to raise the flag at sunrise and lower it at sunset. The flag in question is the Italian flag of the Merchant Navy. During the first day of every week in the instructors' barracks, the instructors decide together at which time of the day these two actions are carried out. Generally, the former happens between breakfast and the morning lesson and the latter between

dinner and the evening lesson. The selected time is then communicated to all the courses. Some CTs make these two events mandatory for everyone in their courses and include them in the everyday routine. Other CTs, on the contrary, inform their pupils about them but make participation optional for everyone. However, at least for the first days, this is highly recommended since it is still considered part of the life and also a good way of getting people into the nautical environment. The ritual follows certain precise steps and rules. Everyone should be standing without crossing their arms in a sort of attention position even if more relaxed. No one should be wearing hats or being busy in other activities like drinking, eating, being on the phone or talking. The general focus must be towards the action of raising or lowering the flag. The rising and lowering of the flag is something that is often carried out at least by one member of staff, who gives orders, helped from time to time by those pupils who are willing to actively participate and who perform the orders. The ritual is scanned by different orders given by the person in charge while everyone else remains in complete silence:

- *"Crew unveil!"*
- *"Crew at attention!"*
- *Lowering/Raising of the flag.* (if lowered, the flag is folded so that the red part of the flag cannot be seen from the outside)
- *"Belay!"*
- *"Re-entry!"*
- *"Crew, free to go!"*

Sometimes before the lowering of the flag some people like to recite the "sailors' prayer", a prayer dedicated to everyone that has ever died in the sea:

*Men, you watching the sea, cemetery without graves and
without cypresses, gather together and meditate...*

It is said that the historical reason for which these two practices happen is to indicate if someone is present at the time in that particular location and, therefore, they are able to provide assistance in case of necessity.

This ritual, which takes place in all the three bases, is significant from two different perspectives. Firstly, in relation to the idea of being on a tall ship, since this is a typical ritual of the ships. Secondly, it is another moment of the day in which everyone generally participates regardless of their course. Therefore, this moment contributes to the feeling of being all on the same boat by adding another moment to the “institutional rhythm” or macro-time through an action which is more sailing-related than others, like eating together or being under the same roof.

The institutional/macro-time is also marked by two important moments at the end of the stay. The first moment takes place on Friday nights when the senior novices host a party in the main common room for everyone at the base. There are different shapes that these parties can take, usually pupils make a cover of a popular Italian pop song but on some occasions they organise something more sophisticated, like plays. The lyrics or the play always refer to the most particular and unique moments that the group/crew has spent during the weeks. Consequently, the group/crew brings back and highlights all the different elements that have been fundamental for the creation of their sense of belonging to the group and also to the school, like nicknames and catchphrases. Through these means, they distinguish and relate themselves to the more experienced courses by proving to have had similar experiences which, however, are also unique to their group. In fact, the references to some of the group characteristics are often fully understandable only by the group members and it can happen that the people in the audience find themselves lost. However, they are still able to understand the context of these experiences since they have also experienced similar feelings based on common activities. This moment is especially important, since it gains a particular significance and it is seen as “The sanctification of the group” (9). In fact, the group of novices, in front of everyone else, officially acquires the status of “Caprerini”, the term that indicates the island attendees’ identity. The Friday party can be considered

a rite of passage and in particular a “rite of incorporation” as described by Van Gennep (1960: 11). During this last night, novices officially become part of the community and the subculture, having learnt the rules, norms and values during the previous week(s) through sailing and the other activities. To a certain extent, it could be argued that the show is a sort of display of the understanding of the particular features of the school and of the collective spiritual essence. The pupils are proving that their understanding of the place is aligned to the more experienced audiences’ understanding of it. This is further proved by the fact that the course instructors never participate in these shows, since they do not have to show or prove anything. This Friday night ritual is related to the subcultural identity and belonging to the group.

The second significant moment before leaving, more relevant to the stay, is the handing out of the report cards. Every pupil has a personal report card that is used as a sort of personal register. At the end of every course, the instructors assess the pupils and decide if they are good enough to progress to the next course. The report cards mostly take into account the sailing activity but also the behaviour in general during the course. On Saturday morning, before the departure, the team of instructors, after some general remarks on the course, give to each individual their personal report card. This moment is plainly in contrast with the group/crew idea that has been implemented consistently from the very beginning of the course and it happens right before the end of it for a reason. In fact, this moment is particularly significant because every pupil, through their personal report card, officially receives back his/her individuality that the school originally stripped away from them through the mortification of self ritual of the first Saturday. Everyone is now being judged personally and not as a crew. Therefore, it is not a surprise that, for most of the people, this is considered the real end of the course. However, the effect of the report cards needs to be considered also from the time perspective. If the stay started with taking

away the everyday identity and finished by giving it back, the pupils have clear temporal marks of the time they have spent at the school. The experience of the one or two weeks is clearly bounded between these very significant rituals. The result of this is that the sensation of living in a parallel world is very much enhanced and increased since pupils can more easily relate to the time spent on the island in which they were “completely absorbed” (10). These rituals provide a temporal reference to which pupils relate to situate their experience in space and in time. To further demonstrate this idea of being in a different world, it is worth mentioning that the boat that takes the pupils to the sailing school and brings them back is referred by the attendees as ‘Charon’, the mythological ferryman of Hades who carried the souls of the deceased across the river Styx.

In conclusion, the end of the stay is as significant as the beginning of it. The rituals have a huge importance in framing the experiences in relation to the institution’s common knowledge, therefore also the spirit, and to the period of stay. After the first time that a pupil goes through these rituals, and the stay in general, he/she has a different way of understanding the community and the setting and he/she is now officially part of the bigger and wider crew of ‘Caprerini’ that share the subculture.

5.3.4. Cyclical/Subcultural/Mega-Time

The rituals officially sanction the belonging to the subculture and the wider crew. Once a novice has been through an entire and complete stay on the island, his/her understanding of the place, and therefore also the creation of the spirit, is strongly tied to the experience of time. This particular level of time takes into consideration time as an experience that brings everyone who has ever frequented the island together. The time organisation of the school is an essential and fundamental part of the stay. Therefore, given how embedded this organisation of time is and what the

effects are, it is possible to say that time, at its highest level, refers to the setting's subcultural level. Even if Lewis and Weigert (1981) referred to same concept as "cultural time", this chapter considers it to be subcultural given the setting characteristics. Subcultural or cyclical times can be considered to be the mega and final level of time and they indicate the same level of experience. However, they can be analysed separately to highlight different elements. The cyclical side refers to the cycles that can be easily identified when looking at the daily and weekly rounds that repeat themselves consistently during the season and that characterise every period of stay. The subcultural side is highlighted by how much the experience of time is considered to be fundamental for fully understanding the setting's subcultural rules and norms. This theme, and this particular fact, is something that recurred often in the interviews (7, 10) in which I asked an explicit question about it:

GG: Therefore, the life at the school is very strict in your opinion is this fundamental within the overall experience?

XX: Certainly yes, for me it is important.

Another respondent:

GG: What if we had to wake up at 9am, would that be the same?

XX: No, no!

GG: So, if we changed the schedule, it would not be the same?

XX: No, it wouldn't.

In conclusion, the mega level of time can be considered the wider time experience that every frequenter of the place has had. Regardless of when the person has been to the island he/she had been undergoing the same schedule and the same routine as everyone else ever did. Therefore, this time experience can be considered a subcultural structure that repeats itself in cycles and consequently separate from the institutional time that moves

linearly. It is something that can be considered to be permanent, stable and granted and to apply the school since its origins and it is irretrievably tied to the setting existence.

5.4. Conclusion: The Role of Time

The chapter has discussed the different levels through which time is experienced and perceived in the setting of the CVC by using Cipriani's (2013) categorisation and Lewis and Weigert's (1981) concepts in relation to social structure. It is important to highlight that even if the different levels have been divided in the analysis, the attendees tend to experience them mostly as a whole. During the fieldwork no one ever referred to time by dividing it in different frames or levels but, in one of the interviews, I got a glimpse of it even if framed as a two-level experience:

“... sometimes I need some time to myself, so I find a rock where I sit on my own and where I do not want to be disturbed and on which time stops... It is the same as if in a world that I consider to be parallel [the island], I create another little parallel world [self/micro-time] and then I go back to the other parallel world”(INT. 1)^{M.P.}.

Temporal stratification (Lewis and Weigert, 1981) could be considered the cause of this perception. The sum of the self/micro-time, interaction/meso-time, institutional/macro-time and the cyclical/subcultural/mega-time have to be understood together. While time passes by in the field, people start to experience the different levels of time that build on each other consistently throughout the period of stay. Therefore, attendees, especially novices, have a sort of temporal career while in the field that results in remembering mostly the characteristics of the cyclical/subcultural/mega-time. The experience and development of this career have an important role in enforcing and enhancing the sensation of being in a bubble, a parallel world or a total institution with a different time and with a particular essence that

only its attendees can understand. As said in one of the interviews, the setting isolation is very tied to its temporal characteristics and how they are perceived to change. This quote from the interviews, I believe, represents quite well what has been discussed in the chapter:

“... [the setting is] a parallel world in which things happen with different times, in which time, as far as I am concerned, stops, stretches, shrinks and goes wherever it wants...” (INT. 1)^{M.P.}

The relevance of the temporal career and the level at which it influences the experiences is something that I have been able to notice through another interesting feature of time related to the narratives in the setting. Being in a total institution, as explored in the previous chapter, means that, for the inmates, there is no possibility of learning what will happen to them in the future. Any information about it is concealed to them and not available. Nevertheless, this discourse is also applicable to everyone at the school, authorities and staff included even if with a different perspective. The major difference is that for pupils not knowing or not caring about the future is something related to their status and structure of the school, while for everyone else it seems to be more of a choice. In fact, apart from the organisational discourses about the future of the course, in general, the future of the school as an institution is barely discussed or mentioned: instructors tend to focus a lot more on the past. The idea of “the good old days” is very present and certainly something that the more experienced instructors tend to talk about a lot. Expressions like “in my day”, “at that time”, “back in the days” are used very often, especially with the new instructors. There always seem to be many more references to the past than to the future. How things were is much more important than how things will be, based also on the assumption that the future will be like the past. The general narrative about the school is always referred to the past, for example, during the “aperitivo”, the old instructors always talk about how the old boats used to be, courses, practices or past experiences. Moreover,

the past is always framed with nostalgia and a sort of melancholy. I believe that there are two main reasons for this. Firstly, one could be traced again, perhaps, to the isolation related to the totality of the institution. Being in an isolated setting could, perhaps, reduce the number of conversation topics. The lack or complete absence of news from the outside world and the fact that the entire life is about sailing, the sea, the wind and nothing else surely enhances the opportunities of discussing the past or arguments related to these topics. Secondly, the importance of the status and role at the school must be considered. As said, apart from certain aspects of the everyday life, the rest is mostly irrelevant. Therefore, people would find easier to create a common ground through sharing the different experiences of the place. In order to more easily relate to one another, people would rely on their school status and therefore to the past experiences that are part of the status. Everything that has to do with the school is very important, so the past assumes a different relevance that the one it would normally have. The past becomes an important topic of discussion in all of the spare time. Moreover, to confirm this theory, it is also interesting to notice how older and more expert instructors refer to the past more emphatically and considerably more often than new or recently promoted instructors, who sometimes find these continuous references to the past annoying and unnecessary.

Therefore, recurring to the past becomes a mean for validation and a way of validating everyone's status and experiences. In this case, it gains a new dimension that people use to get together, talk and share stories and experiences about the school.

Time is an essential part of the experience that starts from the gentle mortification of self until the creation of different senses of belonging related to different groups and then finally the subculture. The experience of the stay is highly mediated by the different experiences enabled by the common time perceptions. The time experience is one of the reasons for which different people, even if they have never shared a certain period together,

feel the same sort of collective essence and sense of belonging to the setting and to the wider subcultural crew. As specified in one of the interviews:

“It is an a-temporal place with a time of its own and sometimes I wonder, given that the school has been here since 1967, what the differences would be if this was 1983”
(7)

Time is something that puts everyone on the same level regardless of their status and role on the island. Moreover, through the implementation of the same routine, the school standardises the experiences for everyone and this seems to have an essential role for the creation of the collective essence. During each stay, being time immutable, the pupils undergo the same actions, routine, and time significant activities that allow them to recall their personal status related to the spirit. Time will be the base on which the particular aspects of the new stay are built, whose significance will be different even if based on the same time effects. This was also shown in the interviews by an experienced pupil:

“This year I could not make it in time for the Charon and I took a taxi in the evening and I was very upset, since I arrived for dinner but I missed all that... buffer... that moment in which you adapt to the rhythm, to the activities and to the nature” (3)

Overall time appears to work as a catalyst by enhancing, concentrating and locating the experiences in a clear time frame in which the feelings, sensations and the different aspects of the sailing school are boosted. With the frame provided by time, every frequenter is able to find common elements to share with other attendees. These shared and common elements, being grounded in the time experience, appear to be the unique and special features of the CVC to which people refer to as the ‘spirit of Caprera’. Nevertheless, time is a necessary but not sufficient condition for creating the spirit, since its efficacy is very much tied with other important elements of the setting that will be covered in the wider research. The time experience is necessary for making the place unique for the attendees by

helping in the creation of a totally separate environment where people are different from everyday life.

5.4.1. Theoretical Relevance

It is interesting to witness how the effects of time are not only related to the physical experiences but also to the more ephemeral areas, proving that time is still an interesting and important aspect of social enquiry and that could be used also in areas in which apparently it does not have any particular relevance.

Within the literature on sailing, this has been partially considered in ocean cruising in relation to a feeling of freedom (Lusby and Anderson, 2010). A deeper analysis of time, in relation to the different sailing contexts, could help uncover elements more related to the practice of the sport. For example, the efficacy of time in ocean cruising is related to it being completely unstructured if not anti-structure, whereas at the CVC it is the opposite and time is rigidly structured. Nevertheless, there are great similarities in the way in which its perception and effects are described, like the discourse surrounding freedom, which will be also expended in the authority chapter.

The use of time, how its perception changes and which effects this different perception could have on people in similar contexts can be used in relation to other researches or sports, since emphasising this aspect could lead to interesting findings. Time and its management, as demonstrated by the case of the CVC, could be considered part of the processes which contribute to making certain experiences “life changing” (Allison and Von Wald, 2013: 25) for their participants. Evading the everyday routine by changing it can influence the self and through this first step, together with other elements, it could be possible to achieve the desired results. Moreover, the existence of certain communal moments could be important both for the individual

and for the collective. The analysis of time could help also in highlighting similar processes that take place, which, similarly to the sailing school examined in the research, are enhanced, boosted or modified by it.

In relation to this last point, time should also be considered in the study of the ephemeral or similar contexts giving the role that it seems to have in creating the CVC spirit according to the school's frequenters. The creation of an ephemeral dimension or entity, such as the spirit, seems to be one of the most interesting consequences of the changed routine, rituals and communal life moments that follow. In particular, the role of rituals, especially those that take place towards the end of the stay, seems to sustain the shared aspect of the group, as suggested by Goodger (1986). However, it is not simply a strong sense of belonging that is generated but also an ephemeral entity, which is addressed as something distinctive to the place. Therefore, when considering how these realities are created, the temporal dimension should also be investigated. This investigation seems particularly relevant in relation to the stream of studies that looks at spirituality as "the development of life meanings based in the experience or practice of a person or a group" (Parry, 2007: 1), to which the research is aiming to contribute. Considering time as part of these experiences could highlight or emphasise how the temporal dimension has an important role in shaping these practices and the consequent relevant spiritual realities.

Chapter 6

Authority and Discipline

The control over time, the total characterisation of the school and the different institutional statuses and roles that the school structure implies can be reconnected and related to a more general notion of power, authority, control and discipline that the CVC enacts in different moments, ways and through different methods. As discussed in the institution chapter, the role of authority is quite important and interesting at the CVC. Rules, constrictions or power can have an important role when considering educational activities (Emo, 2008). This chapter aims to provide another perspective on the experience not simply from the perspective of the frequenters but also in terms of the characterisation of the setting. The chapter describes and analyses how power in the setting manifests itself, the effect it has on the frequenters and how they experience it.

The starting point of the discussion is the initial definition of power, which, given the theoretical approach of the thesis, is quite broad. Power is understood as: “the capacity of some agents to achieve intended and foreseen effects on other agents” (Hearn, 2012: 16). The different definitions and explanations of the other fundamental concepts, like authority or discipline, are given throughout the analysis and in relation to the data. By doing so, I wish to give a clearer explanation of the different features and how they relate to the setting. I also aim to provide a better explanation of power from a micro-level perspective.

Firstly, I focus on authority in general and the structure of authority by explaining its general characteristics. Secondly, I describe the notion of discipline as theorised by Foucault (1979) from an institutional perspective and the relationship that discipline has with the means of correct training. Thirdly, the chapter explains how and why the setting can be considered a

sport panopticon, not simply a total institution, and which elements are important for its identification. Finally, I connect the different parts together to provide a more complete and accurate account of power in the setting and how this can contribute to the different interpretations of Foucault's theory within sport and the sociology of sport.

6.1. The Structure of Authority

Authority and power are phenomena that constantly permeate the entire setting in different ways. They take different forms, shapes and patterns in the setting that can be identified, spotted, felt and perceived in different moments of the week.

Initially, it is worth highlighting how power applies to everyone, regardless of their status or role in the institutional hierarchy. This aspect can be connected to the idea of 'same authority' as previously presented. Everyone both experiences power and has power exercised over them, with the only exception of the two statuses at the ends of the hierarchical continuum – the pupils and the Head of the School, only partially. In fact, the pupils do not have anyone under them on which they can have power over, whereas the HS is considered the highest authority so no one on the island can have power over him. The institutional status is therefore very much connected to the power position people hold in the setting. Moreover, sailing ability and knowledge are also considered a very important aspect related to authority and power, as it is explained partially in this chapter and also in the following on subculture. Therefore, institutional status and sailing can be considered two very important and intertwined aspects of power in the field.

Following John Scott's (2001) explanation of the elementary forms of social power, I initially focus on the notions of corrective influence and persuasive

influence, in relation to the different ways in which power manifests itself at the CVC. I then address how authority is considered to be legitimate and valid within the school.

6.1.1. Corrective Influence

Corrective influence can be defined as a mode that operates using different types of resources than can be employed in a punitive or remunerative way and that can be applied directly to those that are subalterns in the relationship of power (Scott, 2001). At the CVC, the resources that operate under this influence are mainly used in a punitive way. It is possible to identify this power feature every time someone breaks any of the fundamental rules of the school. There are two subtypes of corrective influence: force and manipulation. The former is considered the use of 'physical' power, in the sense of power related to the body but not corporal punishment that is used to prevent certain actions, while the latter is related to influencing the calculation that agents do before acting.

In the setting, some examples showed these characteristics in relation to force. For example, one night during the first period of fieldwork, two pupils approached some of us in front of our barracks reporting that their sleeping bags had been cut and damaged by someone. After a quick investigation, we discovered the person responsible for this act who justified himself by saying that he did this in retaliation for some not very pleasant pranks he previously received from them. Given the late hour, we decided to not contact the HS and to take the matter into our own hands. Once gathered we decided, and then communicated to the perpetrator that, although he had been subjected to pranks himself, his actions were partially understandable but they could not be tolerated. Therefore, we would have informed the HS as soon as possible so that he could take the punitive measures that he ought to be necessary, but in the meantime, the pupil would have to sleep in the

instructors' barracks. This quite rare decision had two main reasons. The first was to avoid any further retaliation by those who found their sleeping bags cut, while the second was to punish the pupil by taking him away from his barracks and put him in the authorities' one. This second action also carried a second meaning: the suspension of his position at the school. Sleeping in the instructors' barracks can be seen as a sort of temporal and liminal confinement in which the pupil is "awaiting trial" to see if he will have the possibility to stay or he will have to leave the island because of his actions. The following day, after the update to the HS, he decided to talk with everyone involved in this situation and with their parents as well, since they were all minors, and he allowed everyone to stay. Nevertheless, he also decided to grant them an extra day of *comandata* as a punishment for the initial pranks as well as the retaliation. This particular case, with its consequences, is extremely rare but the use of corrective force can also be identified in less extraordinary cases.

In fact, other examples of corrective force and display can be related to the way in which different instructors treat pupils when they are late and miss an appointment. In general, given how important being on time is, every instructor really stresses the importance of respecting the different appointments. When this does not happen, there are normally repercussions that can take different forms. In my experience, one of the appointments often missed is breakfast. The freedom that pupils have after the evening lecture often results in them staying awake very long hours and until late, therefore the following morning getting out of bed to be at breakfast at seven becomes a real challenge. Taking my own experience as instructor as an example, I have often waited a few minutes before sitting down for breakfast so as to see how many pupils were missing. After that, I would go into the barracks to provide a quite annoying and insistent alarm to those that were still sleeping and force them to come to breakfast. After a certain number of delays, I would then sanction them with a punishment

that could be helping the *comandata* in some tasks or tidying up the boats after the activities. Other instructors can have softer or harder approaches. For example, those who arrive late to any appointment more than twice must sing a song of their choice in front of the entire course. After two songs sung in front of the course they must sing in front of everyone at the end of dinner. Other CTs enforce the rule that after five minutes of delay to any appointment there is automatically an extra *comandata*, regardless of how many times this has happened or which day of the week it is. Generally, these forms of 'force' punishment are very much related to the single individual and pupil and less to the course or the group.

Corrective influence can also take less explicit measures but wider forms of control during the different weeks. For example, to control what some pupils, especially underage, do during the night and in the hours that follow the evening lecture, some CTs organise a sort of patrol in which they go around the main meeting areas on the island to see what the pupils are up to. Other instructors set particular boundaries for the pupils and set particular group punishments if just one of them violates this rule. They simply verify that everyone is complying with this rule by checking from time to time. An example of such a punishment would be cleaning the entire base or road inch by inch from any type of garbage. Therefore, corrective influence can also be more largely applied to a course or a group.

Finally, the corrective influence of power can also present itself in even wider circumstances, in particular with regard to multiple courses, therefore an entire base, and take a more manipulative form. Although this is something that does not happen very often, I had the chance to witness it twice. The most significant of the two was during the first period of fieldwork. After breakfast, during the second week of one of the initiation courses, while sitting in front of the instructors' barracks, I saw one of my female pupils limping back quite badly to her barracks. I immediately asked what happened since she needed help to walk and looked like she was in a

fair amount of pain. After some resistance and reluctance in telling me, she finally 'confessed' that the night before she had fallen on a rock because someone jumped out of some bushes on the road to scare her. This fall caused some problems to a knee that she had previously injured in the activities she did at home. Naturally, this fact created some concern and we needed to take her to the hospital to check if everything was ok. After informing the HS and the OP about this and after obtaining the permission to leave the school, I was also asked to find out more about this and to try to find the perpetrators of this prank. Ultimately, although we had some suspicions about who was involved in this incident we could not be completely sure, so we decided to have a wider approach to this situation so as to stop any other similar pranks or actions from happening. The CTs gathered with the HS and we decided to gather everyone together before the afternoon lecture to clarify a few points. We then asked the AdVs to inform the pupils, who were quite puzzled about this change in the routine, and at 2pm, we gathered in the common room. The OP, being the highest authority in that moment since the HS could not participate, decided to speak on behalf of everyone. Firstly, he vaguely described the incident that caused the meeting and then he reminded everyone that this kind of behaviour was dangerous and inappropriate. Moreover, he added that the participation in the life of the school was voluntary for everyone and that when they decided to come they agreed to respect the rules and everyone else that was sharing the experience with them. He stated that the school was not willing to tolerate this kind of behaviour and that they had the power to remove from the school anyone who violated the rules. Finally, he concluded by drawing an analogy with the life in the sea and the role that trust and respect have in every crew. The basic idea behind this analogy was that it is not possible to navigate and be safe if the respect among the crew is absent and if there is not trust. Once he finished this ten-minute speech

everyone went back to the normal activity and no other similar incidents happened for the rest of the week.

These examples aim to show how the corrective influences of power can be found at the school. Most of the time when someone breaks some of the rules, the school tries to intervene as fast as possible to re-establish the normal flow of things and to eventually punish those who violated the rules. As highlighted by the examples, this can happen on different levels depending on the infraction or the problem: personal (micro), course (meso) or everyone (macro). It is also worth noting that, even though certain authorities or certain situations may be different, the responses to the violations are also very similar. A certain degree of flexibility can be found but normally the punishments are more or less the same. Therefore, even those that were not together during a certain week but got punished in a similar way can understand each other's experience and feelings and relate to them (mega).

Finally, there is a last aspect that must be highlighted and underlined: all the examples mentioned before referred to land-based situations and not the sailing activity. This is mainly because being at sea is a different situation. As I clarify later, power is very much tied to sailing ability and knowledge and it is a very important base for its legitimacy. Therefore, while at sea, the status of the authority is different than when on land since the legitimacy can be witnessed first-hand. Any instruction or rule out at sea is taken differently by the pupils and respected much more. Fear, safety and willingness to learn could be considered also as some of the causes for this difference. Consequently, at sea, it is more difficult to witness any corrective influence of power since the rules are respected more. It seems that while out at sea there is a higher level of conformity to the rules than when on land where pupils perhaps feel that they can stretch the rules a little bit more. Nevertheless, it can still happen that someone violates the instructions given and, in these cases, the punishment can be, for example, a change of the

crew of that boat but the range of possibilities is extremely limited. Therefore, it is important to distinguish the land activities and the sea activities, given how differently they are perceived and how they shape the display of authority.

In conclusion, the CVC uses corrective influences every time that a violation of the rules is spotted by some of the authorities which they believe cannot be tolerated or endured. The school tries to correct unacceptable behaviour both through force and manipulation, as subtypes of corrective influence. However, these two subtypes also need to be put into the context of a 'total' school and the land based activities. On the one hand, force or physical power should be understood as power over and punishments related to the body but not as corporal punishments. In this case Scott's (2001) notions have been slightly adapted to the setting, given that the original version could not be considered appropriate. Therefore, changing the barracks of a pupil can be considered a force action and falls under the idea of physical power. On the other hand, manipulation is something that tends to stand out more in group situations where it is more possible to influence everyone's actions. The group talk delivered by the OP can be seen as a form of manipulation, since it influenced the behaviours and actions of the pupils before these happened by changing the way they approached their decisions.

6.1.2. Persuasive Influence

Persuasive influence is defined by Scott (2001) as the offering and acceptance of reasons for deciding to act in a certain way rather than another one. Being persuasive is not only related to having a strong personality but also to sharing particular socially constructed cognitive and evaluative symbols; in the school's case, for example, being on a tall ship. Differently from corrective influence, persuasive influence tends to work

more with emotions, since it convinces people to act based on a sort of emotional commitment. This commitment is achieved through two subtypes of persuasive influences: signification when using cognitive symbols and legitimation when using particular ideas or conditions. The commitment is created through the recognition of ideas and values that the subalterns accept, in some cases without question, or, as I will argue, voluntarily. Moreover, the commitment can involve agents to which a certain level of competence and expertise is recognised (Scott, 2001). At the CVC, this sort of emotional commitment or commitment to certain agents is achieved through two different specific means.

The commitment, achieved through signification, is built upon convincing people of being in a certain situation. In this case, being on a tall ship or on the same boat, which means that certain behaviours or rules must be adopted. Thanks to the isolation, the routine, the activities, the narrative, the discourses and other characteristics previously explained, the school is able to 'convince' the vast majority of the frequenters of this situation. Therefore, certain actions are legitimised based on this understanding of the setting and through these cognitive symbols. Pretending to be on a tall ship changes the signification of most of the different situations, given that it is a context with particular characteristics.

Legitimation, in turn, is achieved by the building of values and particular ideas. Although most of these have not been explained yet, some have been mentioned already. The school teaches and imposes the values that it believes are important and pertinent to the experience and to sailing. For example, the notions of trust, respect, generosity, commitment or unselfishness. Some of these are explicitly thought and implemented but the more the days progress the less they are verbalised and imposed and the more they become embedded and internalised by the subalterns. The values become very important and essential in the experience.

When considering the example previously explained of the OP's speech in relation to the knee incident, it is possible to witness how he not only used the threat of using force and manipulation but also that he underlined and emphasised the shared values to which everyone could relate to and related them to sailing. The accent on the values and general situation of 'being on a tall ship' was a way of taking everyone on board through the use of the same values and by highlighting the total aspect of the experience and what this entailed.

Moreover, it is again necessary to distinguish the sea aspect of life from the land one. In fact, the commitment can also be achieved by the recognition of skills, ability and expertise. Something as simple as the rigging or unrigging of the boats, actions that take place multiple times during the day, are already enough to identify the different levels of expertise. As said, the hierarchy of the school is hugely based on the presupposition that a higher status corresponds with more knowledge, but when this higher knowledge is actually shown the pupils can witness the validity of it. Similarly, this is applicable to every status in relation to the one immediately above it in the hierarchical order. Naturally, this display works very well in legitimising the authority and the power and therefore to persuade the subalterns of its validity. The expertise is embedded and blended with the status related to the total institution therefore it is very difficult for people to challenge it. Moreover, since the instructors are all 'insiders', this is even harder, given that pupils are aware of the fact they have spent a good deal of time at the school. The expertise at the school has to be considered as clear-cut, hard to contest, supported and created both by the technical aspect of sailing as well as the institutional hierarchy. Moreover, it is also dependent on the type of power that can be identified at the school which is discussed at the end of the chapter.

In conclusion, persuasive influence is achieved through the signification of the setting as a tall ship or as an isolated place, the legitimisation of certain

behaviours based on values, norms and ideas but also based on expertise and knowledge grounded in the everyday sailing activity.

6.1.3. The Creation of the Structure of Authority

The two different power influences just explained and analysed, as it often happens in the setting, are experienced as a whole by the frequenters and it is quite hard for them to spot the differences. What they perceive is a more general structure of authority, since they tend to respect and obey the different commands. In fact, authority is the power to make commands and have them obeyed and it is closely tied to idea of being legitimate (Hearn, 2012). I now highlight how the different influences work together to create the structure of authority at the CVC, from a rational and a more emotional perspective and I also address the question of its legitimacy.

Force and manipulation, in time and through the different management of punishments or the absence of them, which, in some cases, can be seen as a form of reward, are turned into more complex forms of coercion and inducement, even if very light. The use of force is not actually continuously necessary over time, since after a few 'force' related punishments, for example by giving an extra *comandata* to someone, 'threatening' pupils with it can be enough to coerce people into certain behaviours. It is not only necessary to fear the sanction but also to be sure that this will happen in the case of a violation. Force and manipulation appear to be related more to calculative forms of action, since by administering the sanctions and their fear, the different authorities are able to control those below them. Rewards can take different forms; for example, in a certain situation, to reward a course the instructor can decide to have the evening lecture outside the classroom on the pier or on the terrace. Alternatively, the CT can grant more time between the lectures and the different appointments. It is important to remember that power dynamics apply also to AdVs, instructors and CTs,

and not just to the pupils, even if for the instructors, the punishments are always extremely light. Generally, they can take the form of reprimands from the HS or the OP, which can be light or very harsh.

Furthermore, significance and legitimisation of the authority are turned into the more complex structures of command and expertise more related to the emotional sphere. 'Domination'/control through command is achieved thanks to the idea that, in the relationship, someone has the right to give others orders, while others have the duty to obey. This, within the setting, is expressed very clearly by the different institutional statuses that grant everyone a precise role and set of obligations. Moreover, this structure is based on the shared moral commitment to the different values that are behind the command, for example being on the same boat, and it is maintained through actions that function as a remind of this difference. Nevertheless, in the setting, the role of expertise, which can be seen as the trust in the competence of those above you in the hierarchy, is absolutely crucial, given the importance of sailing. Expertise is one of the main sources of legitimacy in the setting but it is not the only one.

In fact, the problem of the legitimacy of authority in the setting should also be addressed from another perspective to understand how authority establishes itself and how its consequences are accepted by the frequenters. As explained in the previous chapters, the CVC can be considered a total institution and also as a *reinventive institution* (RI) (Scott, 2010), a more modern form of total institution based on voluntary participation. If the voluntary participation in the school is important from the institutional point of view, it is also very important from the authority perspective. In fact, the frequenters' disposition towards it is very much influenced by their voluntary form of involvement at the school. Scott (2010) not only introduces the notion of RI, when reconsidering Goffman's ideas but also the idea of 'performative regulation'. This regulation occurs, in relation to these institutions, when people submit to the authority of an institution,

internalise its values and enact them through mutual surveillance and inmate culture (Scott, 2010: 221). This notion derives from a synergy between Foucault's (1979) disciplinary power, Strauss's (1978) negotiated order and Goffman's (1983) interaction order. Thus, power is legitimised in the setting through the combination of three different processes. The first two are related to the characteristics of the persuasive influence, therefore command and expertise, which create a sort of emotional commitment by convincing people of being in a tall ship and by teaching or imposing certain sets of values and ideas. The third aspect appears equally crucial since people willingly submit to the authority, given that they decided to spontaneously come to the school. Moreover, once they quickly become part of the institution and have internalised the values, frequenters help to reproduce the structure of authority. Therefore, it seems extremely plausible that a process of 'performative regulation' takes place at the CVC, as I try to demonstrate in the following sections of the chapter, and that it is essential in creating a strong legitimization of power.

In conclusion, the structure of authority at the CVC is achieved through the variation in different times of coercion, inducement, command and expertise, all based on and influenced by the voluntary participation of the frequenters. The first two derive from the corrective influence of power and the second two from the persuasive influence of power. They are all connected one with the other, since, for example, the ability to punish is based on the assumption that the authority that imposes this sanction is legitimate and genuine. Nevertheless, it seems that, in the setting, the persuasive influences of power have much more importance and the corrective influences are used only on those occasions when someone violates the rules. Certain courses need to rely on them more often while others almost never do, depending on the instructors' ability and the composition of the course. Therefore, I believe that more attention should

be placed on the persuasive influences that will be further explored and analysed; as this quote from the interviews further highlights:

“It is not really the fear of the sanction that has people respecting the rules, because, at the end of the day, the penalty is not even there apart from the CT being mad, and nothing more. But you can clearly see that there is the conception that the rules must be respected for everyone’s sake and these are simple rules related to living together. Therefore, we have certain times and these times must be respected, there are certain duties that must be performed and everyone must do his/her part.” (INT. 2)^{M.P.}

6.2. Foucault and Discipline

When considering the stream of thoughts that focused on persuasive influences and that can be derived from these notions, Michel Foucault’s ideas and concepts must be taken into consideration. Moreover, given how expertise is fundamental, pervasive and central in the construction of authority at the CVC, Foucault’s thoughts appear to be even more important. This section analyses authority in the setting using Foucault’s ideas of power, discipline and means of correct training.

6.2.1. Power

Power, according to Foucault (Foucault, 1979), can be framed by recurring to four different but essential characteristics. The following analysis and description show how these can be identified in the setting and why they are relevant to the discussion.

According to Foucault, the first characteristic of power is that it is a relationship between people or institutions and not a possession, something that someone holds. Within this relationship, power moves and circulates.

At the CVC, the idea of power as a relationship appears quite plausible and relevant. In fact, the structure of the institutional roles is important in defining not only the social relationships in the field but also the power relationships. At the school, both these positions seem to be extremely related to one another. Power, at the school, circulates through the different statuses thanks to the different power expectancies. As previously highlighted, apart from the pupils and the HS, the two ends of the continuum, everyone is both subaltern and head of someone else. For example, an AdV is subaltern to the instructors but has some power over the pupils, an instructor has power over the AdV and pupils but is subaltern of the CT and so on. Therefore, identifying power within the sailing school hugely relies on the understanding and analysis of these relationships.

The second characteristic of power is related to its being largely productive instead of repressive or oppressive (Foucault, 1979). In the previous section, I have highlighted some of the means, related to the corrective influences of power, that the school uses to correct erroneous and inappropriate behaviours. However, as pointed out in the conclusion of the section, these means are used as a last resource at the school. The CVC aims to control people not with the fear of coercion but with a 'softer' and more persuasive influences. Therefore, being oppressive or repressive is just a small aspect of the power relationships in the setting. Power aims to control but to produce those characteristics believed to be important for the experience. The creation of the spirit is helped by the power structure and by how it unfolds and develops in the setting. Power in the setting produces some of the important and essential dynamics of the school by shaping individuals, their values, views, practices and dispositions. For example, it contributes to the idea of being in a tall ship where there is a clear hierarchical and power structure.

The third principle of power for Foucault is that the only way in which it is possible to make sense of power is through its connections with forms of

knowledge and discursive practices. Knowledge, which is produced by power, directly implies it at the same time. A field of knowledge is essential for the existence of power and, in the setting, this field of knowledge can be divided into two aspects. The first is the sailing knowledge, understood simply as one's sporting ability and skills: being a good sailor. The second one is connected to the knowledge of the place, its peculiarities, practices, language, secrets and subcultural traits. While the former is something that constantly permeates the setting and the stay, the latter decreases to a certain extent after some time spent at the school, since what can be learned is quite limited. The point of articulation between power and knowledge creates discursive acts or practices (Foucault, 1979: 100) that shape the perception of reality. The discourse of Caprera, organised around different statements, is framed around the idea of the uniqueness of the experiences, sailing as a sport practice and the spirit.

The fourth characteristic of power is related to the resistance that power creates, which is an integral aspect of the power relations. Resistance, according to Foucault, is the *conditio sine qua non* of power and it can be included among the products of power. Within the CVC, forms of resistance, as explained in the institution chapter are very rarely identifiable because of the limited length of stay and the general total characteristics of the school. Nevertheless, some examples and situations could still be identified when looking at those situations in which the corrective influences of power have been used. To a certain extent, these situations display resistance to the rules and the practices of the school and therefore also to the general discourse of the setting. Therefore, actions of resistance, produced by power, are necessary to identify the oppressive aspect of power, which is certainly not the most important part of the analysis but still an aspect of it.

In conclusion, it is possible to identify the four characteristics of power at the CVC as conceptualised by Foucault when exploring and analysing in more depth the persuasive aspects of power and the structure of authority. The

relationships, the productiveness, the knowledge and resistance are all important aspects of how the school aims to create the environment and frame the experience without recurring too much to oppression and correctness. In particular, the focus of power can be traced to the body of those who attend the school, regardless of their role. Given the sport environment, the body gains a higher significance and since it is the mean of the sport on which the expertise is based upon it is also essential for power, its legitimacy and display.

6.2.2. Discipline and the Docile Bodies

The centrality that the body has within the CVC and the general aim of the school to mostly rely on persuasive power, together with the analysis of power through Foucauldian lenses, can be connected to a more general process of discipline and creation of docile bodies. Docile bodies are those bodies “that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved ... they can only be achieved through strict regimen of disciplinary acts” (Foucault, 1979: 136). Discipline can be understood as way in which bodies can be constantly controlled and regulated (Foucault, 1979). This section focuses on how the school transforms the bodies of the pupils into docile bodies but also on how discipline can be considered the overarching way in which power is used and displayed at the school. The analysis is initially divided into four sections, each focusing on a different characteristic of the creation of the docile bodies in relation to the school. They are: cellular, organic, genetic and combinatory.

6.2.2.1. Cellular: The Art of Distribution

The cellular characteristic of power is concerned with the distribution of the individuals in space. In order to achieve this distribution,

discipline employs four different techniques: enclosure, partitioning, functional sites and rank. I now briefly highlight how these are applied to the school.

The enclosure is achieved through the isolation of the school both physically and symbolically, as explained in the institution chapter. Having limited contact with the outside world and producing an *ad hoc* space creates a protected space for the disciplinary monotony to take place.

Partitioning is the process that then divides the enclosed place into different sections. In the case of the CVC, for example, the three different bases divide space into different parts even if the general sensation is to still be in the same place. It is interesting to see how all the frequenters, even if they might have stayed in different bases, never refer or specify where they have stayed, it is always just “Caprera”. Therefore, the partitioning is more from an institutional or organisational point of view that can help in the administration of the different practices, rather than from a more experiential perspective, given that for the frequenters there is no real difference.

Thirdly, there is the creation of functional sites that allow a better supervision of those that are at the school. For example, the common room, the classrooms, the barracks which are also further divided into pupils’/Advs’ and instructors’ quarters and the bathrooms. The idea behind the division of these sites is to make everything function better in relation to the aims of the school, every place a very specific and clear use, like in a tall ship.

Finally, as a fourth technique, it is possible to identify rank. Therefore, the creation of a hierarchical structure or sequence made of interchangeable units. The school’s rank has already been treated previously and it can be applied here in the same manner. It should be considered as a way of

creating a more efficient control by breaking down the different controlling agents.

6.2.2.2. Organic: The Control of Activity

The second and organic aspect of discipline identified by Foucault is related to time and the control of the activity. Times deserve equal attention to space when dealing with discipline and Foucault similarly details five different techniques that can be used with this aim. They are: timetable, the temporal elaboration of the act, the correlation of the body and gesture, the body-object articulation and finally the exhaustive use.

The timetable, as previously explained, is a very important aspect of the life at the CVC. Within the notion of discipline, the timetable makes time useful by breaking it down to different moments and sequenced activities. Moreover, Foucault puts a particular accent on the role of rhythms in making time even more useful. The different rhythms explained assume also this further significance in relation to time.

The temporal elaboration of the act assigns a time value to any physical act. This can be considered an “anatomo-chronological” (Foucault, 1979: 152) schema of behaviour. Even if originally this conception was more related for example to marching, so to more precise body movements, in this case, it can be understood as the general disposition related to certain practices. For example, the lectures are rarely more than twenty minutes, rigging all the boats should not take more than half an hour, walking to the boat must take ten to fifteen minutes, and so on.

The correlation of the body and gesture refers to the ways in which the body is precisely taught to act. Given that the general most important gesture or set of gestures are related to sailing, this correlation can be easily connected to performing certain skills in a certain way, like tacking. Therefore, there is

a very important connection with the sporting aspect of life. However, also when on land it is possible to identify this correlation. For example, during the *comandata* the AT explains very precisely how to perform certain acts and how to 'do it properly'. Wiping the tables and putting the benches on top of them before wiping and washing the floor is something that is done always in the same way as well as the order in which the tables should be served.

The body-object articulation is the definition of the relationship that the body must have with the object that it manipulates when in a discipline context. Again, this can be connected both to the sailing aspect and to more land-based activities. Within the sailing context, this can be applied to how one is to sit on a boat, handle the stick, fold a sail or tidy a rope. On land, this can be related to how to keep the beds and the barracks tidy or the actions in the *comandata*. Through this articulation, the body is closely tied to the objects and becomes part of an apparatus of production.

Finally, the fifth and last characteristic of the control of activity is the exhaustive use of "principle of non-idleness" (Foucault, 1979: 154) which refers to the idea of not wasting time. This principle is certainly very easily noticeable at the CVC, since the school is trying to use as much time as possible for all the different activities. Having a day that starts at 6 am and finishes at 10.30pm clearly shows the attempt to make the most out of every day. The school tries to keep everyone constantly engaged and productive.

6.2.2.3. Genetic: Organisation of Geneses

The third aspect of discipline, defined as genetic, is concerned with the organisation of geneses or genesis. This aspect refers to a sort of personal development path to make the individual more useful, controllable and productive. Similarly to the previous characteristics, this aspect is achieved in different ways:

Firstly, there is the division of time into segments that must have a fixed beginning and end and also need to be successive or parallel. Given how repetitive the daily routine is at the school, it makes more sense to relate these segments to the weekly routine. Therefore, to all the different courses that last for one or two weeks and that are organised on a weekly basis. The fact that every week the school has different courses taking place at the same time shows how these segments are parallel and moreover, they are also successive, since every Saturday when a course ends, another one starts until the school finally closes at the end of October.

Secondly, these segments need to be organised into an analytical plan or a sequence of segments organised in a succession of elements that start from a simple one and increase in difficulty and complexity. The way in which the courses are organised certainly goes in this direction. From the initiation courses, there are different levels (D1-D2), courses or segments in which everyone can participate, both with dinghies and yachts. Moreover, advancing in the school career and hierarchy also requires a special course, since both AdVs and instructors have *ad hoc* training courses. Therefore, this analytical plan is not just limited to the pupils but also to the hierarchy, or at least the first steps of it.

Thirdly, each segment must be concluded by an examination that differentiates ranks and classifies the individuals. Interestingly, at the CVC, there is no real examination moment or day entirely dedicated to this. The progress of the pupils is constantly evaluated, especially in the second part of the courses. Initially, since everyone is learning, there are no expectations, but by the end of the week pupils or possibly AdVs or instructors are expected to be able to perform certain technical acts. Therefore, even if there is no real examination, it is possible to say that there is a judgment based on what is possible to observe and witness at the end of the courses.

Finally, after the examination or judgement and therefore ranking, everyone is given a role and a range of exercises or practices that suit this role. This is more easily identifiable when looking at the AdVs' and instructors' training course, since passing them means gaining a completely different status and responsibility from which new and different actions derive. However, it would be a mistake to not consider the fact that being ranked or promoted in the pupils' courses still involves a change of status, even if minor. In fact, it may not change the status that the pupils hold in relation to the institutional structure and the hierarchy previously explained but it does change the status that they hold on a subcultural level.

In conclusion, the organisation of geneses deals with time and how time, divided into segments, is organised into an analytical plan. Every different segment has different expectations and imposes different exercises or a different degree of difficulty of exercise on the individual.

6.2.2.4. Combinatory: The Composition of Forces

The fourth and last aspect of discipline involves the composition of forces in which all the different parts and segments are fitted together into a complex structure. Therefore, the force of a multitude of bodies is combined into a greater force. There are three aspects to this composition.

The first one is making the individual body a segment in the social machine. Therefore, the body becomes an element that can be moved or placed. In the case of the sailing school, this refers to the different roles and statuses but also more in general to being a member of the sailing school community, a 'Caprerino'. The school gains a different significance and becomes a wider and more complex structure in which everyone who ever attended the school has a part.

The second one is transforming the functioning of time into the one similar to a machine. The various chronological series combined by the discipline become a piece of the machinery. Therefore, for example, the time of each person must be adjusted to the time of other people. To make an example related to the school, the staff and the pupils set the time of their personal watches to the exact minutes of the one of the CT. Therefore, everyone has the same time. By doing this, everyone is more likely to be on time and the results are optimised.

Finally, there is a very precise system of command. This is not simply related to a hierarchy but to actual “signals” (Foucault, 1979: 166) that help with the training of the bodies. To every signal, there is an action that must be fulfilled and that does not need to be fully explained and articulated except the first time. For example, when out on the water, certain signals from the power boat are used to facilitate the activity and communication. The most renowned one is the one that symbolises the end of the activities. One of the instructors from the power boat whistles a few times and put his arms together to create a cross. It does not matter which level of the course it is or when a person attended the school since this signal is universal at the school.

6.2.2.5. Identify the Docile Body

The body is made docile at the CVC through the combination of the different elements previously explained. The subject of this process is naturally the body that is transformed to better suit the aims of the school. Therefore, to sum up, the art of distributions deals with the division of space to create a complex space for discipline that has three important characteristics: being architectural, functional and hierarchical. The school is very keen on and rigid in maintaining all these aspects and makes sure that they vary as little as possible. The creation of such spaces makes supervision

easier as well, as the learning process and sets the first step in creating docile bodies. The control of the activity deals with the body and how this is put into a code of activities. These codes of activities are the 'manuals' that contain all the prescribed movements or "manoeuvres" (Foucault, 1979: 153) for the body which has to be made useful and productive. The organisation of geneses deals with time and how time, divided into segments, is organised into an analytical plan. Finally, the composition of forces deals with the ways in which the different aspects are combined together in a kind of machinery, so that everything is then part of a more complex structure. Therefore, every aspect must be considered together with the others, since they all seem necessary to one another.

It is possible to combine all of these features and characteristics into three different and more general aspects of the docile body in relation to its functioning. Firstly, 'docility' does not work with large groups of individuals but works on a smaller scale; in fact, the school breaks down the frequenters in different statuses and groups so as to reach a more efficient enforcement. Nevertheless, this aspect deserves a little bit more attention, given that Foucault (1979) conceives this breakdown as part of a process of individualisation. In fact, this process can be identified only to a certain extent at the CVC, given how the school aims to create a broader and larger sense of belonging to the community. The process of individualisation can be identified when focusing more on the sailing aspect of the life, since learning the skills and the different techniques is surely something personal. Therefore, the sailing knowledge is individualised, given that the acquiring the different sailing skills is a personal process. However, as highlighted many times, the sailing aspect of life is not the only one that matters at the school, which is also aiming to produce a particular environment in which individualities are far less important. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge this little difference in understanding the process of individualisation. The second aspect is that through exercise and training the

body is made efficient, the focus is on the forces and the dynamics of the body. At the school, the role of sailing and the consequences that sailing has also in relation to the land-based activities is certainly very important. Finally, 'docility' creates modes of total supervision, which in this total institution can be easily identified when looking at how time, space and movements are constantly controlled.

Therefore, in conclusion, the school transforms the body of the individuals into docile bodies through these different practices and techniques, some of which could be seen as more important and powerful than they even become distinctive, positive and essential aspects of the experience of being a "Caprerino". The experience of the schedule and time is a good example. The creation of docile bodies, even if for a limited period of time, is important for administering the discipline and creating an adequate ground for the wider experience that the school aims to give. Creating a system in which movements, space and time of the body are controlled allows the CVC to better implement those aspects of the life that are perceived to be important. Finally, but not less importantly, docile bodies are important for the teaching of the sport, therefore for allowing the school to better teach and implement the technical aspects of the sport, which, however, are still extremely tied with the land-based aspects of the life at the school.

6.2.3. Means of Correct Training: Discipline

Once the docile bodies have been created, it is then possible to see how the specific instrument of discipline can be applied. The main aim of disciplinary power is to train, therefore to teach. It seems quite evident that, in the context of the setting, the object of training is the sport of sailing. Nevertheless, it is always important to keep in mind the aim of the school to not just transmit sailing knowledge but also other related aspects that will make the process of learning different and unique, according to the

frequenterers. Discipline and its successful implementation are directly related to the success of three different instruments: hierarchical observation, normalisation of judgement and examination.

Hierarchical observation makes individuals clearly visible and keeps them under a constant watch. Therefore, for example, it constructs architectural spaces under which it is possible to totally supervise individuals. In the school, the barracks dedicated to the pupils, can be seen as a good example of how the hierarchical observation can be identified, since there they are supervised by the AdVs. Similarly, when out at sea, the instructors normally spend their time on an orange power boat that can be seen as the instrument that is used to observe, hierarchically, the unfolding of the activities. However, the notion of being observed can be applied also to the instructors' barracks. In fact, in case the HS needs to talk to some of the instructors or all of them, he knows where to find them and check on them. When providing examples of these instruments, Foucault refers to military camps and the way in which they are geometrically organised and built. However, at the CVC, the hierarchical observation is identifiable at a softer level that divides the structure according to the status but certainly does not affect too much the geometry of the bases. This can be caused by the fact that the school believes in observing the frequenterers but only to a certain level, no-one is really observed twenty-four hours a day. Moreover, being in a natural park does not allow for too much freedom for building or reshaping the bases. Interestingly, the biggest base of the school used to be a military base during the Second World War and the instructors' barracks used to be the officials' barracks. In fact, there is a painted eagle (a symbol of the fascist regime) on one of the walls and, in certain areas of the base, it is still possible to see the supports for the cannons. Naturally, observation requires power and in this case, it is important to stress again the idea of power as a relationship which is not simply top-to-bottom, but more complex and also a piece of the machinery. In the case of disciplinary power, individuals are

distributed in a field of power and the relationship among them is quite complex, even if a head is still identifiable. At the CVC, the complexity of the relationship and the distribution of power can be seen when thinking about the entire array of different statuses and roles that constitute the hierarchical structure of the school.

The normalisation of judgement refers to the constant watching and evaluation of the individuals. When in an observed space, individuals are subject to the idea that they will be expected to have a certain kind of behaviour. Therefore, they adapt to certain rules but also to certain norms that have dedicated disciplinary actions. For example, at the CVC, the rules are those that are explained at the beginning of each stay and that are hung on the wall in every common room. They are, basically, laws: for example, 'no one can leave the school or the bases without an explicit permission'. However, there are also norms, which can vary from course to course to a certain extent, but that are not explicated or considered as laws. Being on time is one of these norms, which partially derives from a rule, and which, as explained, can result in different disciplinary actions. Another norm is the one that wants every course to act and move like one entity, therefore the idea of doing everything together. Violating these norms results in precise and dedicated penalties that constitute a sort of "micro-penalty" (Foucault, 1979: 178), given, in this case, how they are course-related. Disciplinary punishment can be seen as corrective, highlighting the notion expressed before that the school relies on this kind of power only when necessary to correct certain behaviours. Therefore, the process of normalisation is related to the request that everyone needs to respect the norms and needs to have a certain expected behaviour. Disciplinary power uses the normalisation of judgement as a device to make people subordinate by potentially putting them in a bad relationship with everyone else if they fail to meet the different norms. Therefore, it creates a network of control based

on the respect of the norms in which everyone is constantly aware of being watched and judged which results in a persistent evaluation.

Finally, the examination process combines the techniques of hierarchical observation and the normalisation of judgement. It is a normalising gaze that makes qualification and classification possible. Foucault specifies that examination is a “highly ritualized practice” (Foucault 1979: 184). As highlighted in the time chapter, the moment of handing out of the report card can be seen as a ritual that gives individuality back to everyone at the end of the stay. Therefore, this explicit moment of examination and classification, predicted by the routine, is highly ritualised in the setting as well. During this ‘ceremony’, everyone is individualised and objectified by the display of the disciplinary power that openly manifests itself to provide a judgement. It would be a mistake to think that, at the sailing school, this happened just for the pupils. In fact, the moment of the report card is something that can be applied to everyone. After the pupils receive their report cards, the AdVs receive theirs and after them the instructors their own from the CT. Normally, the CT sign his/her own report card but without writing any real report, it is up to the HS, if he believes it is necessary, to add notes. Therefore, the examination is something transversal in the setting that is applicable to everyone, apart from the HS. Through the examination and the report card, individuals are brought into the “field of documentation” (ibidem). Everyone has a personal report card that contains the different verdicts from every course and that is kept by the school during the year and sent to the school at the beginning of every week. AdVs and instructors have different report cards from the pupils and between themselves; they are different in colour but also different as to the points on which they are evaluated. For example, they have a point about their ability and piloting the power boats or lecturing. Naturally, the more experience people have in the setting, the longer the report card will be. This introduces the third aspect of examination which is the “apparatus of writing” (ibidem:

190) according to which every individual becomes a 'case' that has to be trained, with an 'individual' history.

6.2.4 Docile Bodies and Discipline at the CVC

In conclusion, it is possible to say that the CVC is a setting in which discipline, in the Foucauldian sense of the term, is extremely important and probably the main way in which power presents itself. Power that is productive, relational and extremely related to knowledge, given the sporting base of the setting. The school creates docile bodies and discipline through the cellular, organic, genetic and combinatory techniques. In discussing the different techniques and characteristics that discipline has in the field it must be noted that some are probably more important and more effective than others, like time management, for instance. Nevertheless, what seems to be significant is how the whole system and the different structures work together. Starting from Foucault's conception of power and how it is possible to identify its features at the sailing school, discipline is, ultimately, essential and important for explaining the setting. Moreover, recurring to discipline shows how the school works more with persuasive power rather than corrective influences. The former is the first approach and the way in which the school tries to set and control the life, the latter is used in those necessary cases in which rules, norms or discipline practices are broken or violated. Moreover, the focus on the sport experience and the use of the body appears to increase even more the role of discipline, which tries to make the body as productive, and therefore skilful, as possible.

Furthermore, to emphasise the significance of the disciplinary practices at the CVC, it is worth focusing on a very clear idea that derives from *Discipline and Punish* (1979) which is that disciplinary power constructs and targets identities, rather than acts. Therefore, discipline creates identities and individuals, in this particular case being a "Caprerino/a", through all the

different techniques mentioned before. Even in those cases in which there is a punishment for the violation of the norms, this is intended to target the identity by reframing it within the normal boundaries set by the discipline, which does not apply solely to pupils but also to the other statuses of the school. Experiencing the same discipline and the same process is something that allows people to really relate to each other and to add another layer of shared experiences.

Finally, similarly to Foucault's analysis, there is also a wider point that has to be considered. In fact, the school recurs to discipline and docile bodies not only to maintain control over the environment and the frequenters but also for a wider purpose. In this particular case, as I will also argue towards the conclusion of the thesis, this purpose can be considered the transmission of the spirit and its connected sailing characteristics. This aspect will also be clarified and further discussed in the subculture chapter, but it is worth explaining that these concepts are particularly significant in relation to this wider aim. Therefore, the good functioning of the school is only an aspect of the analysis, given how authority seems to be essential for the broader experience and the transmission of its key aspects.

6.3. The Sport Panopticon

In the analysis of power, which in the setting has the form of discipline, the total characteristic of the school as an institution must be also considered together. In fact, when considering the two aspects, that so far have been analysed separately, it is possible to identify another interesting entity which is equally related to both of them. This section describes how the school can be theorised as a sport panopticon when considering the role of discipline in the context of this total institution. I try to merge the characteristic of both these analyses in one argument by highlighting in

particular the explicit point of view of the frequenters which, so far has been partially left aside.

6.3.1. The Panopticon

The panopticon, initially thought by Jeremy Bentham and then used by Foucault (1979: 175) to show how the modern disciplinary institution worked, is a model of a prison with a very particular structure. The word panopticon derives from the ancient Greek mythology and in particular from *Argo Panoptes* (Αργός), a giant that according to the myth had the ability to constantly see everything. The prison was architecturally singular, since it had a circular structure with a tower in the centre. The tower was the place from which a guardian would observe the inmates, whose cells were all around in the rim. Every cell would face the tower and the inmates would have the constant impression of being observed since it would be concealed to them whether the guard could see them or not. Because of this feeling of being constantly observed they would behave in a proper way, since they would survey themselves, and the guardian would be able to impose discipline through the fear of being observed. There are questions surrounding the applicability of this model and over how closely actual prisons resemble this model but most importantly whether these effects would flow on it they did (Alford, 2000). However, this example could be used to show how the inmates would interiorise the discipline and become docile bodies. Discipline would just be imposed from above at the very beginning but then it would become internalised, pervasive and persuasive.

6.3.2. The Centro Velico Caprera: A Sport Panopticon

The CVC can be considered a sport panopticon for different reasons. The sport aspect is related to the role that sailing has in the setting. This role

is two-fold: it is not just related to the activities that occupy most of the time on the island and that bring people together but also to the influence that the nautical and sailing environment has in creating the institutional structure. Therefore, the idea of doing everything and recreating an environment “as if it was a tall ship” can still be put under this idea of ‘sport’ environment. However, the biggest influence in thinking about this idea of the sport panopticon came from the interviews. When asked about the discipline in the setting, the answer often described a place in which discipline was not present and, in some cases, not even perceivable. This idea of an invisible power is surely something that reconnects with the Foucauldian discipline and the persuasive conception of power.

One the questions the participants were asked in the interviews was: “Do you think the place is rigidly disciplined?”. The answers to this question were particularly interesting and to a certain extent surprising. In general, the answers had different patterns. For example, some argued that the discipline was not rigid, and in some cases, did not exist at all, but recognised the existence of rules:

“for me, no... you know why? Because, at the end of the day, for me discipline equals punishment and in Caprera there are no punishments, therefore, it cannot be rigidly disciplined. More simply, there are simple rules and everyone follows them. ... For me, discipline is forcing people to behave in a certain way and, for me, Caprera is exactly the opposite” (INT. 8)^{M.I.}

INT. 10^{M.I.}: “No, not rigid. There are simple and very few rules that must be respected. This is not disciplined.”

GG: “Why?”

INT. 10: “Because discipline requires a different level of formality...”

INT. 3^{M.P.}: No... I did not do the military service and I hate the military environment, I like Caprera very much because I take all of those rules in a sport manner...

GG: So do you feel the discipline?

INT. 3: No, I do not. There is a lot of self-discipline"

"No! ... Well, in reality yes. ... When I hear people saying 'oh Caprera, oh my god, a military school', oh come on! There are some hours to respect, certain things to do but no one forces you with a pitchfork, so I don't know. If I had to answer spontaneously, I would have to say no. ... Respecting the authority is one thing, discipline is something different" (INT. 11)^{F.I.}

Others saw discipline as a value of the school and someone even called for more since the one that could be found was not rigid enough:

"Yes, rigidly but not that rigidly... It is rigid, a little bit disciplined, it could be more disciplined. Discipline is good and there should be more, it is necessary" (INT. 5)^{F.P.}

INT. 6^{F.P.}: "I consider being disciplined a value in its own right at the school"

GG: "So do you think the place is rigidly disciplined? Especially since you believe that discipline is a value?"

INT. 6: Yes, yes...

GG: In general, how did you feel the relationship with the authority is? It being rigidly disciplined, did you feel a constant and strong authority?

INT. 6: Yes, present... even if yes and no, in reality, it depends. I have found two generations of instructors. The generation closer to my age had a much milder authority ... the other generation farther away from my age absolutely made the authority very clear and the very strong. Therefore, I experienced two different approaches.

Finally, someone argued that discipline could be initially identified but then it would disappear due to a process of interiorisation:

“For sure there are some rules, perhaps I don’t feel them to be that rigid, since I am ‘inside’ them or, more or less, I share them, so they don’t seem that rigid. ... it really depends on who is imposing them, you see the HS once and then it’s the CT but it depends a lot on the kind of person he/she is” (INT. 13)^{F.P.}

“I guess we can say there is a constant reference to the rules but there is also a lot of interiorisation of the rules from the pupils. I have witnessed that almost always the pupils would become completely embedded in this world, therefore they understood, accepted that those rules were right, so discipline was almost self-constructed, self-imposed... you are not afraid of the instructor as you are of the teacher at school... discipline, at least in my experience, was something that would come up spontaneously so those rules were accepted and shared by everyone and if someone did not accept them he/she still had to comply, not really because of the sanctions or the punishments but because the rules had to be accepted” (INT. 2)^{M.P.}

“After a while, you realise that the rules are not imposed from above but it is as if you have interiorised them because you recognise their necessity” (INT. 7)^{F.P.}

I believe that all these different answers can be used to highlight different interesting analytical elements. Firstly, among those that perceive it, there is a sense of necessity, inevitability, comprehension and understanding of the phenomenon, as if it was such an important part of the experience that it would be unthinkable to not have it and it would be even better to have more. Therefore, for these people, discipline is not only an essential characteristic but is also very positively experienced. Moreover, it is legitimised by the experience and also by the structure of the school. Secondly, some people believe that there is no formal discipline but that people control themselves and impose certain behaviours because this is what everyone else does. Thus, what can be found for them is conformity to everyone else’s behaviour and not discipline. Thirdly, some people deny its

existence since they do not see nor perceive any kind of control or imposition but simple rules related to living together. Consequently, everything seems to be unfolding normally without any kind of imposition or any particularly disciplined moment. Finally, it is possible to say that there is no settled view on discipline in the school's frequenters. Some people perceive it, others perceive it only partially and others do not do so at all. There is a general disagreement about power that in some cases appears to spark some confusion. To further emphasise this point, it is also interesting to notice that some of these answers are coming not only from pupils but also from instructors. Therefore, these answers cannot be attributed to a general lack of experience or knowledge of the place but to a more general different perception of its dynamics.

In fact, I believe that the whole of these answers can be understood as signals or hints of the workings of the discipline process. Discipline is so pervasive and persuasive that, as Foucault (1979) noted, it is hardly identifiable, it is hidden and embedded in the different processes. Therefore, some people interiorise the rules and the discipline process so much that they end up regulating themselves or even further they end up not recognising any form of control. Exactly as the panopticon aimed to impose the discipline on the inmates by making them believe they are being constantly observed to the point that they would interiorise the discipline, so does the CVC. Similarly to the Greek myth, everyone feels observed, making sure they behave similarly and according to the same norms. The central tower could be considered the HS, being the highest authority and, to a certain extent, the most feared. From the perspective of the distinction between inmates and keepers, as I discussed in the institution chapter, he is the only one that can be considered purely as a keeper. However, it would be a mistake to consider him the only person who enforces the discipline, since this, as explained, is obtained also through all the other different figures. When looking at the different quotes, it seems plausible to say that

the different perceptions are not completely wrong or completely right, given how discipline works. It is also worth considering the importance of 'performative regulations' and how not just the voluntarily participation, but also the re-enacting of rules and correct behaviours, after their interiorisation, could have an effect on creating this sense of panopticism.

Therefore, it is possible to argue the presence of a sport panopticon, given how discipline operates at a personal and therefore individual level and how the effects and techniques of discipline become embedded and accepted voluntarily by everyone. The continuous mentions of the fact that everyone else is complying with the rules and that, in some cases, no one is really imposing anything, highlight how control and power are not centralised but diffuse and discrete. Moreover, the general disagreement and confusion show how this discrete control is able to disguise itself in the different practices.

6.3.2.1. Resistance

The sport panopticon can be also considered the major reason for which very little resistance can be found in the setting. The fact that everyone is 'on board' with the discipline, and feels observed discourages any form of resistance or at least any display of it. This does not mean that everyone equally shares the values and norms of the school since this is not the case:

"It has been quite tough for me living at the base, with such strict appointments, always with the same people. For a person like me, who is used to living in total freedom and who is extremely autonomous, and used to managing other people and not being managed by some else, it has been quite hard" (INT. 1)^{M.P.}

As this pupil said in the interview, he really suffered in this kind of total environment, therefore, he was not fully on board with the school's values,

and this can be considered a form of resistance. However, these statements do not match the behaviour he displayed for the entire stay. Already after a few days, INT. 1 expressed his feelings but he still carried out his duties and obligations in the proper way. He participated in the different activities, he was always on time and never officially complained or behaved in an 'inappropriate' resisting way. This small example is interesting because it shows what is perhaps missing in the setting is not resistance but its display. Resistance is not effective in a disciplinary environment when it is not able or strong enough to create an alternative to the discipline practices and therefore to create some changes in the setting (Markula & Pringle, 2006). In the case of the CVC, resistance is barely visible and not organised into a more coherent discourse that could challenge the one of the school. Normally, people that do not enjoy their stay, like INT. 1, decide to not come back the year after, but while still on the island they comply with all the rules, norms, obligations and practices, since they know that they will have to do so only for a limited period of time and that they spontaneously decided to participate. Therefore, in the sport panopticon, also the length of the stay has a certain importance in 'convincing' everyone to behave similarly. The constant observing and control that people have on each other can still affect the behaviour of those that do not really share these ideas and values, proving how pervasive the school's discipline is. Therefore, the only forms of resistance that can be perceived are episodic and sporadic and do not belong to a more general resistance 'movement'.

6.4. Conclusion: Latent Disciplined Authority

In conclusion, power and authority have a particular and apparently complicated way of displaying themselves in the setting. In fact, even for the frequenters, this is not easily identifiable and, as some of the quotes from the interviews demonstrate, it is debated whether the setting can be

considered rigidly disciplined or not. The analysis of power and authority in the setting of the CVC creates two fundamental dichotomies that are the base for power in the setting.

The first dichotomy is related to land activities and sea activities. The life at the school is more or less equally divided into land-based moments and sea-based moments, in which power has different characteristics and different ways of presenting itself. In fact, as said in one of the interviews:

“When he/she [the instructor] is on the Gozzo [the power boat], he/she is a point of reference, when on the stairs, he/she is not” (INT. 5)^{F.P.}

This quote clearly shows how authority at sea is much more respected and perceived differently than when on land. Anything that is asked or said by an instructor when navigating must be respected and immediately carried out, whereas when relaxing on the ‘scalette’ (the stairs in front of the common room on which people sit and lay down during the day or at night) an order is perceived differently. The reason for this can be traced to the importance that expertise has in determining power and the social hierarchy. In creating the structure of authority, being in a sport environment, expertise and experience more in general are central. Therefore, when out at sea, the pupils, both novices and advanced, are more directly related to the source of power, sailing in this case, and therefore they respect it more. While on land, the authority can still be traced and seen but its effect and legitimacy are less identifiable. Therefore, a first dichotomy when analysing power is concerned to the difference that authority and power have based on where it is.

The second dichotomy, probably even more important, is related to the use of both corrective power and influencing power. As explained, they both fall under a more general disciplined form of power as intended by Foucault. The general approach of the school is to create docile bodies and to impose discipline on them to control them, but when the discipline fails to do so,

the school uses corrective power to put any situation back in line. The discipline is what probably impedes the pupils, but also AdVs and instructors, in recognising a constant and rigid form of authority and power. In creating these mixed feeling also the idea of a sport panopticon in which people control each other needs to be considered. Apart from those acts that can be classified as corrective, the boundaries of the authority and its display are normally identifiable in two precise moments: the beginning and the end of the stay. In fact, its first clear appearance can be considered the first roll call and the division of the courses that happens on the first Saturday afternoon. In this situation, the division between those who have authority, and over who, and those who do not have any is very clear. Nevertheless, after this first moment, authority becomes more and more blurred day by day, apart from when corrective and also at sea. If the authority displayed itself clearly at the beginning of the weeks, the same phenomenon appears to happen at the end of the weeks. In fact, the CT provides the pupils, but not only them, with report cards of the course. In this last meeting with the pupils, the authority clearly redefines its role, since it is exposing the comments on the pupils', AdVs' and instructors' performance at sea and in the school's life in general. In the same way the authority presents itself at the very beginning, it also does in the end.

The mix of these two dichotomies creates the kind of authority that dominates, as I would like to argue, the setting: a latent disciplined authority. Therefore, an authority that is present but not visible. During the vast majority of the time spent on the island, this is how authority permeates the setting. As a pupil told me during an informal chat one day:

"I am so surprised that the school is lacking a sort of legislator that decides the rules and makes their respect automatic."

Discipline and the total features of the institutions merge together to form another entity in which power is present but hidden and people tend to

comply with the rules without resistance and by becoming controllers as well. Discipline and the institution create a system of control, a structure of authority so incredibly effective that people impose the norms on themselves and make sure, just through mutual observation, that everyone else is doing the same, like in a panopticon. The authority remains hidden and appears only when necessary and if necessary, according to how much correction is thought to be appropriate. It appears that in the normal course of life, some small barriers, the dormitory and the theoretical lectures, for example, can keep some distance between the roles, mainly the instructors and the pupils, based on the different levels of expertise. The control seems to be more tacit and is explicit only when strictly necessary with very few, if any, forms of overt resistance. Moreover, in this process, it appears that the roles of the AdvTs and the ATs can help this mechanism in creating a silent and tacit control over the pupils since they partially mitigate the instructors' more explicit authority. In particular, recurring to the AdvTs, therefore a friendlier and closer status to the pupils, is common practice among instructors. Additionally, the alternation of sea and land moments during the day enhances this latency since the authority legitimacy shifts during the day. When out in the sea activities, the authority appears very strong and extremely legitimised, while when on land it is perceived in a softer way. Finally, it would be a mistake to consider the role of authority only for pupils, since everyone is subject to it and everyone perceives the discipline. In conclusion, to show how efficient the latent authority is, I believe it is interesting to see how people often frame their experience on the island by referring to freedom, even if they are in a setting that tends to control every action they do in it. This quote is from the most experienced person I had the chance to interview:

“For me, discipline is forcing people to behave in a certain way and, for me, Caprera is exactly the opposite” (INT. 8)^{M.I.}

With the expression “exactly the opposite”, it seems clear to me that he is referring to the idea of letting people behave in the way they want to, therefore freely. However, as shown from a different perspective, Caprera does not allow a high degree of freedom.

It is finally worth showing how the ‘performative regulation’, as defined and explained by Scott (2010), is clearly identifiable and described and part of this idea of latent disciplined authority. A key aspect in ‘misleading’ frequenters, regardless of their role, and giving the impression of being in a free environment, is surely the voluntary submission to the authority based on their spontaneous participation. The notion of the sport panopticon and lack of resistance also highlight the second aspect of ‘performative regulation’, therefore how frequenters internalise the values and through the creation of an inmates’ (sub)culture, based on shared values, they enact a mutual surveillance. The surveillance allows the more formal authorities, for example the instructors, to ‘step down’ and therefore to be more latent and less explicit. Thus, this creates the sense of freedom previously mentioned, since apparently there is no authority or no real confrontation with it unless the rules are broken, but is also directly helps the authority itself to control, manage and maintain its power.

6.4.1. Theoretical Relevance

The chapter’s analysis of power, mainly through Foucault’s theories and concepts, can also be considered relevant for contributing to research streams.

Firstly, this analysis fits into the analytical frame originally constructed by Foucault that advocated that research should focus initially on micro-levels of society (Markula & Pringle, 2006) before moving to a wider and more extended analysis. The chapter, and therefore the thesis as well, moves exactly in the direction of an analysis of micro-level of power within the

context the sailing school, which is small, limited, isolated and defined. The chapter offers another analysis of power dynamics and adds discipline to sailing as an environment. It also partially contributes to the use of Foucauldian concepts and notions in relation to outdoor learning experiences, in which they can offer a different viewpoint and different questions (Zink and Burrows, 2009).

Secondly, the analysis fits into a more general stream of studies, in the context of the sociology of sport, that use Foucault's notions. In the literature overview, provided by Rail and Harvey (1995), the research mentioned focused mainly on physical education in schools (Hargreaves, 1986) or certain sports situations like swimming (Rinehart, 1998 in Rail) that could be seen as panopticon spaces.

Rinehart (1998), who briefly analyses a swimming environment through the lens of Foucault's notions, appears to be the only author that makes any reference to a sport panopticon setting or situation and if some similarities can be found, the differences are what seem more relevant for this research contribution. The similarities appear to be connected to the narrower and more specific elements related to the two different sports. Rinehart (1998: 43) emphasises how "the existence of a form of panopticism within swimming" is related to the division of time and space of the practice and to the breakdown of the technical aspects into segments. His analysis of these forms of panopticism seems to be limited to the art of distribution, the control of the activity and very partially to docility and to the organisation of geneses. Moreover, he stresses the importance of discipline not just in training but also in non-training moments and by doing so he implicitly refers to forms of self-discipline, which can be found also at the CVC. However, between the two analyses, there are still interesting and considerable differences. The biggest regards not just the different sports but more importantly the fact that Rinehart focusses on a competitive environment with a different level of commitment. The participants of his study did not

spend days or weeks in the swimming pool or nearby, but they would just attend the training for few hours. The CVC is similar to a total institution and participants not only practice the sport but also live in the same setting. This adds another level of analysis to the notion of a sport panopticon and, if Rinehart (1998: 43) refers to “a form of panopticism”, in this case it is possible to define the CVC as ‘a form of a panopticon’, which is more comprehensive and takes into account the living aspect and not just the sport one. This research, when framing the idea of a sport panopticon, is not just referring to the hours spend out at sea sailing, but also to all the other moments spent rigging, unrigging, eating or sleeping. If the sport aspects can be considered similar, *mutatis mutandis*, what clearly differs is the environment. The CVC is not just particular because of the sport of sailing, which has not been widely studied, but also because of it being a total sport environment which changes the significance of the analysis of the combination of sport and panopticism. The CVC combines both the total and residential aspect with its sailing and sport environment.

In conclusion, this chapter contributes more in general to the analysis of power in Foucauldian terms, therefore by looking at the micro-levels of power and power within a very defined context. Since referring to Foucault’s theories in the sociology of sport is a well-established way of analysing cases, the research contributes to the particular stream of research that uses the concepts of surveillance, power, discipline and gaze. In particular, it does so by focusing on the notion of the panopticon, expanding Rinehart’s (1998) analysis by looking at a different sport in a completely different and new environment, since it also appears that research focusing on sport and sailing institutions similar to the CVC cannot be found.

Chapter 7

(Sub)Culture and Community

After the explanation of the way in which the CVC works as an institution and the structural elements of the experience, this chapter aims to explore the characteristics of the setting from a more community-based perspective. The subject is the cultural experiences and the meanings that frequenters attach to certain situations and share when at the CVC. The totality and isolation of the life cannot be solely identified and analysed by looking at the institutional structure of the school.

As explained in the first chapter, the isolation and distancing from the outside world are achieved also through some symbolic barriers that work together with the physical ones. While the previous chapters' description and analysis have been more top-down, therefore from the institution's perspective, especially in the first part of this chapter, I try to provide a more bottom-up analysis by highlighting the participants' standpoint. The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the values which are important both for the community and the school. School and community should not be considered as two different entities, since they are deeply connected. Both could be seen as a consequence of the other and nobody perceives a difference between being part of the community and being part of the school. Some of the frequenters often use these terms interchangeably: being part of the community means being part of the school given how the subcultural norms, their acceptance and participation are tied to the institutional structure.

I initially focus on the verbal expressions, the language, narratives and general discourses in the daily life. I then explain the values and the consequences that they have in the experience before discussing the

different identity issues. The conclusive part relates the different sections together to define what kind of community can be found.

Subcultural Capital and Subcultural Substance

The chapter uses the notions of *(sub)cultural capital* and *substance* to analyse the community that is created at the school and to highlight, through Bourdieu's and Goffman's work, its most important elements. The term 'subcultural capital' was first coined by Thornton (1996), who, starting from Bourdieu's concept, argued that this capital could be used as an identity marker not only for class but also for other social groups. Bourdieu's cultural capital (1985: 47), which can be found in three forms – embodied, institutionalised and objectified – can be defined as the social assets (like symbols, ideas, skills, tastes, and preferences) of a person which are normally acquired in his/her social group. Cultural capital, together with social and economic capitals, dictates the social position of individuals. By sharing the same cultural capital, people create a collective identity through which they distinguish themselves from other groups. The subcultural capital, which involves a series of distinction or authenticity claims, within and from a wider culture, can help not just in the definition of insider and outsider but also to make sense of the internal status hierarchies (Dant and Wheaton, 2007). By recurring to this notion, which has been used in the studies of other sport subcultures such as rock climbing (Rickly-Boyd, 2012), surfing (Wheaton, 2013) and windsurfing (Dant and Wheaton, 2007; Wheaton, 2000), I also hope to contribute to these streams of studies by adding sailing. This concept is used together with the notion, which belongs to the post CCCS subcultural studies, of 'cultural substance', a "group distinctiveness, identity, commitment and autonomy" (Hodkinson in Bennett and Kahn-Harris, 2004: 136, 144). This notion is characterised by the fact that it "tends to cut across perceived internal differences and

subgroups” creating a very strong sense of belonging and group identity consciousness, as in the case of windsurfers (Wheaton, 2000), and which appears to be something advocated at the school and that can be seen when looking at the notion of ‘crew’ in relation to everyday life statutes.

Throughout the chapter I will try to relate the school’s subculture to both these notions. In particular, the former is related to the exclusiveness processes, while the latter to the inclusive ones. The prefix ‘sub-’ is used in brackets – (sub)culture – as a reminder that these concepts are merged. Moreover, the analysis will make use of two distinct theories to highlight some of the particular features of the school’s community, how this capital is created and what its effects are. In particular, it will use notions related to the ‘genesis of groups’ and ‘distinction’ by Bourdieu (1985 & 1984) to highlight how the frequenters aim to pursue a distinction from a perceived everyday life in the same way in which not-working classes try to create a significant separation from the working class. Similarly to other sport studies, as discussed by Wheaton (2013: 34) and even despite different theoretical trajectories, Bourdieu’s discussion of taste can be applied to the body as a site of distinction. Finally, through the use of the notions related to ‘dramaturgy’ as discussed by Goffman (1971), I aim to show how this pursuit of distinction also has an effect on a more individual level, creating characters, masks and audiences.

7.1. The ‘Exclusivity and Uniqueness’ Expressions: Language, Discourse and Narrative

This section focuses on the major specific language and verbal discourses and narratives that can be identified. Therefore, they regard the main arguments and elements related to what it is spoken about, discussed or verbalised during a normal stay and that are part of the subcultural capital. All these elements appear very important in creating the distinction

from everyday life and this also seems to be their common denominator and what links them together. It seems important for those that are on the island to create and make a discourse around how unique and special the setting is. Both from an identity perspective, and even perhaps more from a marketing one, the school participants have an interest in doing an exclusivity discourse about what happens at the school. This discourse seems to be characterised by different elements that are brought together to demonstrate the school's distinctiveness. This discourse can be considered to be related to Bourdieu's study about distinctions (1984) and about how a symbolic system could be used to make a subjective classification into an objective one. In this particular case, the distinction is between the school's/community's practices and life and those of everyday life.

7.1.1 Sailing Topics

At the CVC, sailing represents the major aspect of life. The precise aims of recreating the life as if the school was a tall ship and the fact that most of the days is spent sailing hugely influences also the rare moments on land.

It is particularly interesting to note that even in those moments sailing still is the major aspect discussed. From the instructors to the pupils, everyone talks about sailing even if touching on different topics. They can range from the technological advancements of the America's Cup to the exercises done during the day, from sea stories to past experiences. Sailing remains in the mind of the frequenters constantly thanks to a diffuse mechanism as well as a purposeful one. The former is the fact of being in a closed environment in which everything is sailing-oriented and therefore it can seem more 'natural' for the frequenters to discuss their daily or weekly sailing experiences instead of other topics. Moreover, these topics also reinforce the idea of

being isolated and in a total environment. The latter, which is especially valid for those that are more experienced, therefore advanced pupils or staff members, is that 'this is what you are supposed to be discussing'. It is implicitly understood, and in some situations even explicitly stated, that sailing related topics should be the most widely discussed. In relation to this norm, there are different interesting episodes that exemplify this behaviour.

During the second period of fieldwork, two episodes highlighted this 'topic exclusiveness'. The first happened in the instructors' barracks: it was an extremely hot afternoon in June, and I was part of a team of three instructors working together in an initiation course. I already knew both from previous years and sometimes we would get into discussions about history, politics or recent events. Most of the time this would happen while walking to or from the boats and so it was limited to the three of us. However, that day we started a discussion about the upcoming election of one of the most important mayors in Italy. We had very different views on it and so the discussion became quite heated even if always extremely civil. Just after a few moments in the discussion and one of the other instructors who was resting on his bed, with a very severe and firm voice stormed into the discussion by saying:

"Oh, please guys! For the love of God, not politics, stop it!"

Given that the discussion was creating some disturbance, we then agreed to disagree and we went to the afternoon lecture. From this episode, it is possible to deduce, that a political discussion completely unrelated to sailing was something which was not deemed acceptable by everyone in the barracks and it was not very welcome, since it felt inappropriate to some. Our discussion immediately stopped and from that moment we had a sort of confirmation that if we wanted to discuss these topics we would have to do it among ourselves. It is also worth noting the exceptionality of this

situation. In fact, I never participated in any other similar discussions again for the entire fieldwork.

A similar episode happened a few weeks later but in the evening. After the evening lecture, as happens on the clear majority of the days, everyone scattered around the stairs that lead to the common room. Before going to bed people normally meet there to relax, sing or chat. As with everyone else, I found a seat among some of my pupils and we started to talk about various topics. After some time, the discussion moved towards a quite superficial analysis of the gender dynamics in the Italian society and we all shared our thoughts. Another instructor, at a certain point, moved from the top of the stairs towards us. He sat down for about twenty seconds, or even less, and then he immediately returned from where he came from saying:

“Oh no, here you are coming up with serious arguments about serious stuff, I am not interested at all, I am going back up!”

The fact that we were covering a ‘real life’ issue, even if in an extremely superficial way, had been enough for him to leave immediately. He sat down with us for a very short time and it did not matter how deep the discussion was because what really put him off was the more general topic that we were discussing. Hearing just for a few seconds that we were not talking about anything sillier or sailing-related he did not consider it appropriate. This discussion topic did not belong to the accepted range of arguments pertinent to sailing or what was happening at the school.

Finally, in one of the interviews, a similar trace of this attitude came out. In answering one of the more general questions about the life at the school, one interviewee referred to the night in which we first met. During that particular week, I was not doing any courses and I was helping the staff with their duties. On the first night, since I wanted to say hello to some friends that had just arrived, I walked to the yachts base. Once there, with them and some of the pupils, we moved close by to the pier to chat a little bit.

Everyone was getting to know each other for the first time, so everyone was in a sort of introductory phase. In order to better know each other, two girls started to ask everyone their names and what they were doing in their daily life, their age, where they came from and so on. I was quite surprised by this approach, since normally questions about everyday life are asked more towards the middle of the week when there is more confidence and trust among people. To my mind, the reason for this different approach is traceable in the different age range of these frequenters. In fact, the participants in this course were mainly in their thirties or above and consequently, I believe they had a more standard approach on how to get to know new people. Younger pupils, those that I have mainly spent time with, are not initially interested at all in these kinds of things until they become really close. I was quite puzzled by this unusual approach, but after I got acquainted with them, I spent many more nights with that group and everyday life never came up again. As the interviewee said:

“... during the first night we talked about who we were, what we did, us... that first night on the pier, what was our occupation, how old we were, where we came from... but already from the second night, our life was not a topic anymore, everything we talked about was the day, the sailing boats or certain episodes” (INT. 6)^{F.P.}

After a first night in which they had nothing to share apart from their everyday features, sailing became the one and only topic covered. During the following nights, the first question that I always asked was: “how did it go today?” and then we would spend the night discussing their impressions and sailing experiences of the day. Sailing was the centre and the main topic even if I was not directly involved in their activities during the day, since we would barely see each other.

In conclusion, even if there are no prohibited or banned topics at the school, there is a general pressure to choose the preferred ones. It seems significant that some people prefer to talk about sailing topics even if they could choose

something different that would nonetheless create some opposition. Sailing and the school experiences are assumed to be of everyone's interest and something on which everyone has something to say. It becomes the centre of any dialogue, as this last episode highlights. The fact that in certain cases, as the first two episodes highlight, this exclusivity of topics is achieved intentionally by deliberately avoiding certain matters that could be connected to the outside world shows this strive to differentiate the setting from it.

7.1.2. Catchphrases

When considering the verbal and symbolic aspects of the life of the CVC and once established that sailing topics are those that are mainly discussed during the stay, it is also important to consider the role that catchphrases have. During a normal stay, certain words, expressions or sometimes even sentences are so recurrent that they become completely embedded in the life. There are different types of catchphrases that can arise in different ways. Some belong to the community in general and are very well-known and have been heard by anyone who has attended the school in recent years. Among the most universal and famous ones, there is surely "Beastly", "Bestiale" in Italian. This is an exclamation that can be translated, from a less literal perspective, as 'amazing, unbelievable or incredible' and it is an expression that belongs to the OP, who used to say it a lot some years ago. After he started to use it, it quickly became a signature expression and since that year it has been passed on course after course. Everyone who has attended any dinghy course in the past years has heard this expression at least once and knows its significance. Other very well-known catchphrases come from the introductory speech that the old HS used to deliver during the first Saturday. After a general welcome, he would always say "this is not a sailing school, this is a life school" and then after few

more sentences “remember, water is a valuable asset”. Similarly to the OP’s word, these expressions would be said constantly throughout the weeks.

However, there are also other catchphrases that are not too general and are related to a particular course since they are created based on something that only those course members would know. When something funny, hilarious or unusual happens, being something at sea or even a particular expression or answer, if it is found to be particularly significant, it becomes a catchphrase. Every course usually has its own catchphrases which become very distinctive of their identity as a group. During fieldwork, I heard, created or was involved with many. In the first week during an initiation course, our daily exercises during a quite windy day had been disrupted by the arrival of a beautiful tall ship that cut through our course. After the activity was finished, we went back for lunch and, during the afternoon lecture, one of the pupils asked what kind of boat that was. After giving the length and model, I also added the name of the owner of that boat who happened to be a very famous Italian architect. After my answer the pupil, since she had spent the entire morning capsizing and we had just finished discussing that, exclaimed, referred to the architect: “well, he surely does not capsize like us”. Everyone laughed and from that moment on this sentence, even if slightly revised in “... [Architect’s name] does not capsize” became a distinctive group catchphrase. Another example can be traced towards the end of the fieldwork. During one of the first evening lectures of a two-week initiation course, while explaining my approach to the explanation of certain technical issues, I replied that I normally have a ‘Darwinist’ approach to teaching. Even though I did not want to make a joke or say anything funny, the pupils perceived it in a such a way and “Darwinism” became the main catchphrase of the course. It became so important and part of the group identity that the entire course was renamed D1D2Darwinism (D1D2 is the acronym for the course) by the pupils.

GG: So are the catchphrases important?

INT. 10^{M.I.}: Yes yes yes yes yes, they are very important to keep the group together. Think about in a 1Q [two-week initiation course acronym] how many catchphrases there are, and at the end they even make a song with them... it is a spirit of identification, belonging. It is like a uniform.

In conclusion, catchphrases hold a good deal of significance at the school from the perspective of the community as well as from the perspective of a course. The function they serve is to create a common ground on which people build their identity. These catchphrases could be related to the sailing experiences as well as to other funny situations that may occur during the different phases of the day. They are an important part of the experience especially when people leave the island, since they become significant tools for relating back to the experience. Moreover, being repeated many times during the day over and over tends to reinforce the idea of a closed and isolated environment, since they also play a role in creating the topic exclusiveness.

7.1.3. Nicknames

In creating an exclusive island discourse and language and considering the fact that the catchphrases work on a group level, nicknames must also be considered since they work on a more individual level. The practice of giving nicknames or completely new names to frequenters is well-established practice at the CVC. Even the HS during the roll call when there are people with the same name, states: “don’t worry, you will soon get nicknames after the first silly thing you do”. The way in which these are assigned or created is very similar to the catchphrases’ mechanism. Weird, funny or strange situations or behaviours could spark their creation. They can also arise because of physical attributes, occupation or even the place of origin or a particular resemblance to someone famous. Therefore, the reasons or origins could range from being, for example, particularly

muscular or thin, talking with an accent or doing certain studies or a specific job. The nicknames become part of the person and they are even written on the report card, so that when that person comes back he/she could already be identified and called by that nickname. Unfortunately, for ethical reasons, it is hard for me to provide examples related to other people since they could be easily identifiable. Nonetheless, I can provide an example related to myself and to the OP, since such a key figure cannot be hidden. I have never been called with my full name while attending the school and I am also not particularly known with my full name. I do not have an “island name” or a different name but my name is shortened to ‘Gil’. When I introduce myself or when I am presented at the beginning of the courses this is how I am called and it would be practically impossible for me to change it. The OP is addressed by all the pupils and the great majority of the instructors with his nickname “The Flying Red” (Rosso Volante). There are different rumours about how he first got his nickname, but the most accredited originates it by the fact that, when he was younger, he had red hair and that he used to ‘fly’ on top of the masts to do the repairs. When he is presented by the HS, this is how he is introduced and in any other communication, for example, when calling him on the radio this is how he is supposed to be called.

In conclusion, nicknames can be mainly seen as tools thanks to which people are framed within the school in a way that is very specific to the setting. They can have different origins and meaning and the vast majority of people have a special name or nicknames at the school; in fact, over half of all the frequenters have one. This process has also other consequences that are explained later in the chapter.

7.1.4. Gossip

As previously mentioned, the topics in the sailing school are very unlikely to differ from sailing or in general or, as is inferable from the

catchphrases and nicknames examples, from what happens at the school. It is extremely unlikely that conversation topics break the barriers of the school. Therefore, the life at the school and what happens during the period of stay are the most important sources of conversation topics. If catchphrases and nicknames are normally closely derived from sailing moments, there are certain arguments that are still pertinent to the life but not that directly related to sailing. In particular, these topics can be considered to belong to the gossip sphere. In fact, it is quite common to discuss or talk about possible matches among frequenters. For example, if a couple is seen as particularly close, talking to each other a lot and spending a lot of time together, the other frequenters immediately start a conversation about what could possibly happen or perhaps has already happened between them. If someone has seen them walking together to one of the small beaches at the school at night, or maybe trying to isolate themselves from the rest of the groups, this often sparks gossip about it. Everyone seems to be very interested in what is happening from this point of view and given the amount of time that is spent together and in common situations, it is normally quite easy to see if someone is missing. It is extremely difficult to hide or be alone while at the school and it is even harder to avoid being noticed doing so. As said in one of the interviews:

“The only way in which you can hide would be isolating yourself, but then you would be the one who is missing and therefore you would be even more visible, since you are not there. Thus, in my opinion it is impossible to hide” (INT. 7)^{F.P.}

Looking for privacy alone or with someone else is always seen somehow suspiciously by everyone else. If you do it alone it could be seen as a sign of being sick or unwell, whereas if you do it with someone else it could be because there is a mutual interest in being alone. Therefore, when people isolate themselves this is always noted by someone else who then often starts rumours and stories about who was missing and with whom. At this

point, the rumours spread and given the small size of the place they quickly become more general gossip. Everyone knows everything about everyone else or as it said on the island: “the school is a giant porter’s lodge in which it is not possible to keep secrets”. According to an Italian cultural ‘myth’, porters always know everything about what is going on in the house they are working in and spend a lot of time discussing people’s private business.

Similarly to the other conversation topics (catchphrases and nicknames), also gossip, which is strictly related to what is happening on the island at the present time, reinforces the separation of the setting and makes the community tighter and closer around the specific events of the school. This tendency to gossip is also covered in the gender section, given how it implies a clear gender dynamic.

7.1.5. Singing

Singing is the most common non-sailing activity done at the school. Normally, singing is done after the evening lecture on the stairs to the common room. Everyone gathers around the guitarist and sings. Interestingly, the songs are the same every night and every week, the repertoire is very limited and composed of famous Italian pop songs and very few international ones. Some of these songs are considered theme songs of the island and they become part of the community identity and are highly identified with the life of the school. However, to show the importance of this activity that is often used to bring people together and as someone said “to introduce them to the spirit”, there is an interesting episode. During the last period of fieldwork, around half way through it, the guitar that was at the main base broke. The school did not provide it and so we could not ask the HS to buy a new one. One of the instructors decided to buy one and to donate it to the school. When I thanked him for this gift he replied: “of course, it is my pleasure, Caprera is not Caprera without singing all together

on the stairs”. The significance of this activity is much more than the simple act of singing, since it is one of the few ways of having everyone spend time together and also of doing something apart from talking, given the lack of other possible activities. Moreover, it is considered an extremely typical and characteristic activity of the place and it is, according to some, a very important part of the experience, since everyone is together. In fact, during the parties on Friday night, singing is often used as a tool to celebrate not only the community but also the course.

7.1.6. Sailing and Nature

When considering the (sub)cultural aspect of the sailing school, there are also two other elements that appeared to have a great importance in creating the separation from everyday life. The first is sailing as a sport, while the second is nature understood as the environment. In particular, it is interesting to see how the relationship with nature seems to have an important role in the experience and it is something through which the frequenters develop an attachment to the place. Moreover, the sport of sailing and nature, in certain cases, share some aspects and some relevant moments, given the environment in which sailing takes place.

7.1.6.1. Sailing

The school (sub)culture is of course very much tied to the sport of sailing, given that the sport is a very big influence, if not the foundation, of every aspect of the life at the school. When, during the interviews, I asked about the role of sailing at the school and what the respondents’ thoughts about this were, the answers all said that sailing was “fundamental or essential”. Moreover, when I insisted on asking which other sport they would see as a viable alternative to sailing, to get the same outcome, the few

answers I got were related to skiing or alpinism, since “they all have a very similar relationship with nature”. According to the frequenters, the school would not be the same without the sport of sailing, since they could spot sailing features in every moment of their stay and they considered them essential. According to them, sailing is always at the centre of every moment of the stay and of the life in general. It could be argued that the main activity of the school – sailing – becomes important in the pursuit of separation. For many of the frequenters, especially novices, the time spent on the island is normally a very good fraction of their entire year’s sailing time. Moreover, sailing, unlike other sports is very time consuming, so it cannot be that easily done during the year for most of people. Therefore, the activity itself becomes a marker to emphasise the separation from everyday life, given that people are doing something they do not normally do and furthermore with a very particular rhythm. Being socialised to sailing in Caprera can also be considered a way in which people get introduced into the wider community of sailors and people who practice this sport. Even there however, it is possible to identify the construction of the separation. Sailing at the CVC is often described as unique, even if it is as a mere technical exercise. It appears to be very influential in the setting in determining its distance from everyday life and also, partially, to the rest of the wider sailing community. Sailing is essential for the frequenters for creating the particular environment but it serves also the purpose of partially introducing them to the sport (sub)culture through the teaching of the mere technical aspects, even if the teaching is still framed to be particular.

7.1.6.2. The Relationship with the Environment and Nature

During the interviews and in particular when analysing the interviews, one of the major new themes that emerged regarded nature and the relationship with the environment, both through sailing as well as other

moments of the life. These themes emerged especially when I asked pupils: “What would you do if you had the possibility to replicate Caprera somewhere else?”. The relationship with nature has been framed from two different perspectives: in relation to sailing and in relation to the land-based activities, two perspectives that still share the goal of creating separation.

Before focusing on the sailing aspect of this relationship, since it is quite specific, it is probably worth exploring the land-based aspect of it which can be understood as the relationship with the environment.

“I was very surprised with the place, because it is enchanting and it leaves you breathless” (INT. 6)^{F.P.}

“Then obviously, the place is stunning and this also helps” (INT. 10)^{M.I.}

“Romantic atmospheres that you cannot easily replicate” (INT. 3)^{M.P.}

“It is geographically unique, because it is like you are on your own” (INT. 7)^{F.P.}

INT. 8^{M.I.}: “The first step would be to find a similar place”

GG: “Do you mean geographically?”

INT. 8: “Yes, yes, for me it is almost that simple”

GG: “Why is it particular?”

INT. 8: “It’s stunning, isolated... sufficiently isolated but not too much... it is the isolation, the beauty and the climate conditions...”

In experiencing the place, being in such an environment, which is also often framed in contrast with the cities or the more modern places from where people come from, has its weight. In general, it seems that the rural and spartan environment is as important as the other specific elements at the school. When people were describing the place, it seemed that they were not just focusing on being isolated but also on a wider perception of the place

constituted by different elements like the climate conditions or its colours. However, it was extremely hard to have more than these general statements when investigating the this aspect, it seemed that my being an insider prevented interviewees to go more in depth, since they knew I could understand what they were talking about.

The natural or environmental aspect of the life gains an even different significance when it is put in relation with the sport of sailing. In general, nature seems to create a challenging environment in which a boat is a tool used to try to tame the sea and the elements.

“you have this direct relationship with nature where it’s not that you cannot win... in these kinds of things you do not win or lose, you have the chance to do certain things and the skill is being able to find the freedom to do as many things as you wish in a limited space that you have and to do more every time... the boat is truly alive beneath you, like the sea, the waves, the wind, and doing a sport while you feel this in unbelievable” (INT. 13)^{F.P.}

“the relationship with the sea, together with sailing, but probably more the former, puts everyone on the same level” (INT. 5)^{F.P.}

“you feel alone against something way bigger than you” (INT. 6)^{F.P.}

“you are at sea, something that maybe you do not really know and you feel free because you could go anywhere, but at the same time you are afraid because it is so big and you have to stick with everyone else” (INT. 7)^{F.P.}

The fact that sailing is a sport highly dependent on the weather conditions and that often these conditions, especially for novices, are challenging, makes the sea, nature and wind entities that challenge the learning and the experience. It seems like the challenge characterises the way in which some people experience sailing. Therefore, when considering the role of sailing as a sport, as done in the previous section, also the influence that nature has on it must be taken into account. On the one hand, it is something that

characterises sailing a sport in general; on the other hand, given the specificity that the frequenters apply to it, it is a way in which they also frame the experience as particular and unique.

Overall, when discussing the experience, the relationship with nature appears to be framed as a result of both the land and the sailing aspect of it. The life is sometimes described as “primordial and tribal” (INT. 9)^{M.I.} or “with a natural rhythm” in which people “synchronise with the sun” (INT. 10)^{M.I.} and feel “one with nature” (INT. 3)^{M.P.}. This is why, when dealing with the (sub)culture of the CVC, nature must be considered another meaningful and significant element, since it also shapes the way in which certain places and practices assume significance for the members of the community. In fact, as highlighted in the passage above by INT. 8, an instructor with twenty years of experience, the first thing he would do to replicate the school would be to find a similar place in which the same meanings could be attached. The way in which people relate to the physical place and its natural characteristics, like the type of wind, the sunset, the sea, the beaches or the waves, seems very important in defining a distinctive meaning about the place. The relationship with nature, apart from being shared and deemed equally important by pupils and instructors, is also an element used to create a sense of separation from everyday life. In fact, the vast majority of frequenters come from urban environments. Moreover, the value of simplicity is also influenced by this perception of nature in terms of being uncontaminated and pure and that makes life easier, less constructed and simpler. This appears something shared within the sailing subculture, especially in the ocean cruising environment (Lusby and Anderson, 2010) where being out on the water is a major motivation for the activity. The sense of freedom that derives from it, which in cruising is related to travelling around, and the respect for nature that comes from its being uncontaminated, are framed almost exactly as at the CVC. However, dealing with the ocean is much more daunting and, as a consequence, the natural elements are personified into

an entity: “Mother Ocean” (Lusby and Anderson, 2010: 95), which is to be feared and respected, and that shows the different relevance of the relationship probably related to the profound differences in the activities, since one is dinghy-land-based while the other is ocean cruising.

7.1.7. It is All About the school, the Importance of the Exclusivity and Uniqueness Narrative

All of these discourses aim to produce a separation from a perceived different world “out there”. The everyday world, and therefore also the school, are described simply by being different and especially the former is never really thought through. Therefore, the characterisation of the outside world is done by stating “what it is not” and by recurring to a general stereotypical perception that sees the general world as “less authentic, more complex and constructed”. The social group or the community of the Caprerini therefore separates itself by referring to an outside world which is a sort of “existence in thought” (Bourdieu, 1985: 741), in the same way in which the working class is considered by other classes. It is identified through the exclusion from it and its existence is related to the existence of everyday life in representation. It is not necessary to reach an agreement about the specific characteristics of the outside world but it is sufficient to generally frame it as different. The general discourses and topics at the sailing school are always extremely related to its environment and also limited by it. It is possible to say that these elements explained are always traceable in the setting, to the point that for some people they are a fundamental part of the experience. Talking about sailing in general or frivolous matters, using a recurring pattern of sentences and references to what has happened at the school, changing people’s names and engaging in some land activities, like singing, which make people gather and share land moments, are all essential parts of the experience, according to the frequenters, that make Caprera ‘Caprera’, a bubble separated from the rest of the world. Moreover, they

help in fostering the idea of being in an isolated and detached setting. They are key elements of the symbolic and subcultural capital that help to produce the alleged distinction from everyday life.

The relationship with sailing and nature, catchphrases, nicknames and the sailing topics, I believe, constitute a good deal of the distinctive elements of the CVC (sub)cultural capital. However, I also believe that they can all be more easily understood when considering some elements of the setting, in particular, some of the songs or poems that are created for the last night's party. As previously explained, these songs/poems are part of the farewell party and the ritual of initiation in the community, during which the senior novices officially become part of the community and the (sub)culture, having learnt the rules, norms and practices during the previous week(s) through sailing and the other activities. They display that their understanding of the particular features of the school and of the spiritual collective essence is aligned to the more experienced audiences' one.

Caprera is colours.

Caprera is the bright blue of the sea. A sea of emotions, fears, adrenaline. It is the deep blue, like the one of frightened souls in front of the power that we call Mother Nature. The blue that surrounds us, that reminds us that sailing is a constant challenge against the world and against ourselves, a challenge in which the winner is the one that never gives up. Whoever is able to close in a fist all the 'breaks' and fear and throw them far away.

Caprera is the shining white of the sails. The white of the light that shines in our eyes when, while on the boat, we realise that we can make it. It is the happiness in discovering that we, simple human beings, can stem up the wind. It is knowing that, in the middle of a stretch of water, we can be big. Free. It is the white of the smiles, of the laughs that resound during the day. The smile of the one who crossed the finish line last but is equally happy because (he/she) won against him/herself. The smile of the one who looks around and feels part of a crew.

The smile of the one who lights up when he/she knows that he/she is not alone.

Caprera is the yellow of the stone enlightened by the first sunbeams. That rock that accompanies us in all our strenuous awakening and with its colours invites us to start again. Because Caprera is starting over, always. It is capsizing and rising again. It is making mistakes, starting over and trying again.

Caprera is the orange of the power boat on which [CT Nickname] navigates. The orange of all those people that for two weeks were always on your side, ready to help you with their expertise, ready to protect you and to love you. People that took us under their protective wing and with passion made us discover this special world of theirs.

Caprera is the intense light blue of the immense sky above our heads. The light blue that tells us to always shoot higher and look always further away... to see the limit and then go beyond it. It is the light blue against which our masts strive for the infinite.

Caprera is the black of the night in which the guitar notes sound, the red of the cups that we share.

Caprera is colour and emotions, it is made of everything that our lives should be made of but that we often miss. Here you find everything. Here, perhaps for the first time, you open your eyes and you can really see them, the colours. Once arrived you fall in love with this island and in your veins, the red does not flow alone, but it together with a sea of colours. This is how Caprera steals your heart and it saves it in its magnificence, tinging it of thousands of shades.

The significance of this poem is something that most probably can be understood by almost everyone who has ever been to Caprera, given how it refers to shared moments even if certain parts are more relevant for those who actually lived them. It contains individual elements like nicknames, course ones, like catchphrases, and more communitarian elements, like the cups. It is probably one the finest examples of all the different elements that

constitute the island (sub)culture and that people perceive to be important and significant for their stay and that differentiate it from everyday life. Finally, these elements need be put in relation to the wider structure of the school by making some final considerations.

A first consideration is related to the different levels of aggregation, like the course (meso) or everyone who is present at a certain time (macro). At each of these levels, there is a more specific narrative that not only describes the place as exclusive but also the particular group. Every course tends to have a specific identity which then fits into the wider one, but within this specific identity, there are elements which re-state the general message in a more specific form. The exclusivity is enforced in the course and then repeated in the wider group in which people can find a positive confirmation of it, since they discuss the same elements they have seen in their own courses. Naturally, insisting that every group is special and exclusive in some cases can have some unpleasant consequences. In fact, certain courses could be very closed towards other courses or even overly protective of their own dynamics and what happens between its members. For example, by condemning those that violate certain internal codes or that do not protect their fellow course mates.

Secondly, some objects gain a particular meaning and become symbols of the uniqueness and the exclusivity of the setting. Some seem more important and specific than others, but their general function is to symbolise the experience and the community identity. There are three most important ones: the cups, the ropes and the logo. The first are the cups that are used for drinking and that have a very particular shape and a bright red colour. Sometimes pupils try to steal one at the end of the course to take home a memory of the place. These cups are constantly shared to drink at the water fountain in the main common rooms and are also often used in parties as a scenic tool. The ropes, which are often used to make bracelets with knots, represent the bond that people in the same course share and also the bond

to the community. Like the cups, certain people cut from the boats some of the ropes or in certain cases are given some by the OP or the instructors. Finally, the logo, which is composed of the flags that in the navy stand for the letter 'C' 'V' 'C', is always replicated in various forms. Certain people write it on each other's arms, or get a sticker or a t-shirt from the shop. It is incredibly rare to see someone leaving the school at the end of their courses without one of these symbols since they represent the membership to this alleged unique and exclusive community.

Thirdly, as I have reported many times in the different chapters, there is always a wide and profound sense of freedom at the school, similarly to other sports such as windsurfing (Dant and Wheaton, 2007), rock climbing (Rickly-Boyd, 2012) and yacht and ocean cruising (Lett, 1983; Lusby and Anderson, 2010; Macbeth, 1992; Macbeth, 2000). The freedom discourse associates the CVC with other sports and subcultures, especially with ocean cruising because of the similarity of the sport. Escaping from ordinary life seems to be the main common trait even if this is done in a different way and with a different meaning, as I discuss in the conclusion. The tendency to see the different dynamics of the setting as something that sets one free from the problems and the different dynamics of everyday life is quite an established practice: "The school is unique because there you can be truly free". The structure of the school, through the institution, time and power cannot really be considered as something that sets people free, since the reality is more probably the opposite. When thinking about the analysis of these structural elements I often returned to this particular narrative and highlighted its contradiction. There is a social pressure within the setting to repeat this idea and to constantly express it with a certain emphasis. A good practical example of this is, in my opinion, the dress code. In fact, it is said that everyone is free to dress up as they wish and no one is interested in it how people look and in their appearances. However, whenever someone dressed up in a too fancy way they get picked on. Therefore, what seems to

be a more realistic account is that people are not free to dress up as they want but they should dress up as if they thought that they could do it freely, which is nothing more than a specific way. It is the narrative that helps very much this idea and to a certain extent enforces it without having people realising how the freedom is more advocated than real.

Finally, there is a very important last consideration that needs to be made. In fact, showing how this narrative works and highlighting the contradictions and discourses that surround the (sub)culture is not aiming to diminish or destroy the perception of the frequenters. People honestly and truly believe everything that has been reported in relation to this issue. However, the analysis cannot simply rely on what is being said and told by the frequenters but needs to be deepened to better explain the different dynamics and how the spirit is created and works. Moreover, every (sub)cultural feature can be understood as the tangible exemplification and enactment of the spirit, therefore it is essential to properly understand them to gain an insight into the spirit itself.

7.2. Values

The school's (sub)cultural community values are also one of the key elements through which this feeling of exclusivity and distinction is achieved, given how they are used to create a tension with everyday life by being the base for the creation of the crew. During the previous sections and chapters, I have often referred to the different values that govern the life at the school which, as I now explain, tend to overlap with the community. Values, with the (sub)cultural tradition, can be seen as "distinctive meanings around certain ideas" (Haenfler, 2014: 16). These ideas and meanings are what constitute the base for the creation of the community, but also of the school which is profoundly intertwined with it. These values are applicable to the frequenters in a more general sense of the term; therefore, to the pupils,

AdVs, Instructors, OP and even the HS. Before a more detailed explanation, it is worth noticing how all these values are extremely generic and not very specific. During fieldwork, but even during the interviews, it was always hard or even not possible to know more precisely which were the most important values according to the frequenters. It seems quite interesting that such a closed and determined setting would not be able to transmit its values more clearly and explicitly. Therefore, the analysis follows the different results that reflect this generality.

7.2.1. Availability

The intention of the school of creating a crew, even if on different levels, together with the effects of other institutionalised dynamics, like the *comandata* or the general mortification of the self, is also perpetuated by enforcing the idea that forms of individualism are not welcomed. Therefore, everyone is expected to always be available for the school and also for everyone else, especially the course mates. Being part of a crew means to cooperate, aid and help and support each other as much as possible. It is implicitly and explicitly asked of everyone to put aside their personal desires and wills and if possible, and when possible, to always lend a hand to a crewmate. It is always important to act in a beneficial way for the group even if in some cases this could cost a little personal sacrifice. Naturally, there are many empirical examples of how this value in the everyday life of the school.

The availability that people are supposed to show to one other can be seen in different ways but a place in which this is more likely to put into practice is the slipway. Especially at the end of the day everyone is very busy in the unrigging and normally quite tired, if not exhausted by the long day. Therefore, it is always quite hard after a day spent in the sun to find the strength to finish every task properly. At the slipway, all the dinghies courses, except from the first one, have to bring ashore all the boats on the carts.

Therefore, given the shallowness, they have to land at about twenty meters from where the shore is and then they have to walk back while pushing the boats and only then can they bring them ashore. At that point someone gets the cart and the final operations can start. However, bringing the boats ashore is not as easy as it could sound because of the sand on the ground and the weight of the boat. Two normal-sized people would find it quite difficult to do it alone and this is why everyone's cooperation is needed to complete this first unrigging step as quickly as possible. Normally, each course takes care of their own boats. Since all the boats of a course finish the activity at the same time, everyone gathers in front of the beach to put the boats ashore. To speed up the operation, instead of doing this in twos, the pupils, sometimes directed by an instructor or an AdV, focus all on one boat at a time so as to share the effort. The basic idea behind this operation is that there is no personal boat but there are the course's boats and it does not matter if you are carrying the boat on which you sailed for the day or any other. Moreover, until the last boat is properly unrigged, the pupils are not allowed to go up to the base to shower and relax. Therefore, they need to be available and be willing to help each other as a whole, so as to achieve their aims as a crew more quickly and efficiently. Sometimes this availability is shown also between courses, since it can happen that someone who is having trouble is spontaneously helped. Even if this example is quite precise and narrow it still highlights the narrative around this availability idea. The same principle is then translated into other land-based circumstances, for example in the barracks, in which the same kind of behaviour is expected.

Similarly, also between the instructors, it is possible to trace this same value. In particular, one episode during the last week of fieldwork highlighted it. One of my colleagues was supposed to be nominated CT for the course that we were about to start together, but once he knew it he phoned the HS asking to not be chosen as the CT, given the responsibilities that follow from the role. This particular fact meant that I was going to be the CT instead of

participating in another more advanced course to help out an instructor who had not been attending the school for quite a long time and therefore would have benefited from being with someone that had spent a good deal of time there. Therefore, his refusal created a kind of chain reaction in the distribution of the instructors within the courses and also a some discontent among us when we found this out on the Saturday morning. We then started the normal activities and before dinner in a very civil way we all discussed his refusal. Some of us, me included, did not really like the fact that he had not been fully available for the school and that his decision had consequences on all of us. From our perspective, he lacked the availability and the willingness to do what was best for everyone rather than just for him; he did not put the school's and crew's benefit as his top priority. He defended himself by saying that those were the only two weeks of summer holiday he had and that, still, it had not been an easy decision since he completely understood our point of view. The episode was then resolved that night but from time to time during the following weeks we would tease him about it. However, it was clear how everyone shared the same basic understanding of the idea being available for the crew.

To conclude, there are two even clearer examples of this value, since it can be seen in institutionalised versions: the *comandata* and the volunteering of the instructors. In fact, the *comandata* is nothing more than a day in which everyone is making their time available to clean and serve food. Everyone has to sacrifice some sleep and some of his/her time so that the crew can benefit from it. It is mandatory for almost everyone and it cannot be skipped by any means, given how important it is deemed. As for the second example, it is worth highlighting again that all the AdVs and instructors are volunteers at the school and that none of them are paid. Therefore, after some years at the school, they are willing to make their time and knowledge available so that someone else, as they previously did, can learn how to sail.

7.2.2. Generosity

Connected to the previous idea of being always available, also the value of generosity must be considered. In fact, if being available can be seen as a sort of requirement, sometimes people exceed what would be considered the just amount of availability and in those cases, their acts are considered to be generous and are very well regarded in terms of social prestige. In fact, a sacrifice for the crew or for a crew member is always seen in a very positive way and somehow implicitly suggested and encouraged. Generosity can be seen as a further step within the idea of being available.

As explained, the *comandata* is something that lasts for a day and normally a schedule is created at the beginning of the course and then communicated to the pupils. During the afternoon activities, the *comandata* finishes sailing before everyone else so that they have time to shower and go to the kitchen to help the AT and the chef. Therefore, members of the *comandata* are always on the same boat so that it is logistically easier to get them ashore. During one afternoon, one of the members of the *comandata*, while sailing, got injured so she had to return to the slipway. Once there she tried to recover with some ice while being supervised by the OP. Another member of the course, who was on duty for another kind of *comandata* related to the sails, stepped in and proposed to do the *comandata* instead of her, as she was not feeling well. He communicated this to the OP and went up to the base with the rest of pupils who were supposed to do the *comandata*. Once I returned with the rest of the course, the OP, who was working with some sails with the HS, called me into his workshop and told me about the exchange of pupils for the *comandata* and also to commend the behaviour of the pupil who voluntarily stepped in. He said: "I am very impressed by what he did and by his availability", then he also added:

"This means having properly understood the Spirit,
this is what Caprera is all about."

During the evening lecture, I decided to report these compliments in front of everyone and to highlight the relationship with the community's (and school's) values and aims.

As said, in general, this idea of being generous is understood as being extremely available and therefore to be even more committed to the crew and to its functioning. Although availability and generosity could be seen as part of the same value, the reason for presenting them as separate values is that the meaning they have within the school is somewhat different. Being generous is less due to a more general pressure of being available but it is related to everyone's understanding of how to be part of the crew. It is a sort of personal take on the idea of being available that goes beyond the general expectations but probably represent more truly what the idea of the school is around the availability concepts.

7.2.3. Sharing

Another key value of the CVC is certainly the idea of sharing. Everything is supposed to be shared and equally divided among everyone, without distinctions. Apart from specific personal belongings, everything is considered communal goods and therefore it is important that everyone gets his/her share. Moreover, the school implicitly sees the experience of being at the school as something shared, meaning that, ideally, having the experience alone would be completely different and would not transmit the same teaching or sensations to the frequenters. The idea of sharing is identifiable in all the aspects of the life of the school, from the sailing perspective and from the land perspective. Among the different examples that can be found some can be seen as more specific. For instance, a very common problem on the island is hot water. In fact, there is just a limited amount of it and often when more than a hundred people have to shower, it could happen that those who arrive last will not be able to use any hot

water. Therefore, there is always a little bit of a race when the activities are done so that people can be sure to find some. Nevertheless, if everyone uses the water in a considerate way without wasting it then there is enough water for everyone. Often, together with some colleagues, we had to deal with a very cold shower because we would arrive last from the slipway, given that we would indulge in some extra work on the boats. In those cases that we would not have any hot water that would, of course, not really please us and during a particular week we had to ask and explain to the pupils many times that they needed to take shorter showers. It took us some time before actually convincing them, but eventually we were able to get their understanding. Another similar example that shows how sharing is applied in every aspect of the life was a time when the cook, by mistake, made less food for lunch than what was necessary. Even though this fact created some problems, since everyone was understandably quite hungry, all the people willingly gave up some of their portion, so that there would be enough for everyone to have. The meal was not perceived as something personal but as a collective benefit that everyone was entitled to have.

A final and wider example can be taken from the sailing environment. This is especially relevant for the initiation courses, since this particular fact can slightly change for more advanced ones. Every course gets certain boats, sails and equipment assigned at the beginning of the week by the OP. However, within the course, the equipment is not assigned to the pupils but everything equally belongs to everyone. Therefore, not having a particular boat assigned for a week forces pupils to treat everything with more respect and care since it not 'theirs' as individuals but it is something that belongs to the crew. This particular way of sharing also helps to create some of the dynamics explained when looking at the availability. In fact, the work load that needs to be done at the slipway is not considered personal. When someone has finished the unrigging of the boat as first, he/she cannot consider him/herself done. In

fact, the work is done when all the boats have been unriggered and everything has been properly tied up and put back in place.

In conclusion, sharing is surely something considered fundamental to the experience and can easily connect with the idea of 'everyone being on the same boat and part of the same crew' and therefore with limited resources. Every issue, situation or problem is treated and considered as belonging to the group or the crew. Being egoistic would mean not recognising this collective situation and forcing other people to more than what their fair share would be. Thus, everyone needs to participate, equally, in the different activities and do their part. Again, the *comandata* seems like a well-institutionalised example of this value.

7.2.4. Simplicity

Finally, the last value is related to the general idea of simplicity which, however, also comprehends similar and related notions of truthfulness, spontaneity and honesty. This value, similarly to the others, can be identified in the field in many different ways and in different circumstances. It is supported by a particular narrative about how people should be and should behave; I will explore this narrative by looking at different examples that will also highlight why this is perceived to be a value and an important aspect of the school's (sub)culture.

In general, being at the school can also be framed in terms of escape from the outside world and therefore from modernity and technology:

"It is a beautiful moment of estrangement from modernity, at least for me, it is a moment about me as a person in which I literally detach myself from everything that is technology and I shut down everything" (INT. 3)^{M.P.}

This feeling and sensation are not only created by the fact that there is little time to devote to emails, social networks or technology but also by the

lifestyle. In fact, the CVC is organised, in terms of physical structures, in a very 236partan and austere way. The comforts are extremely limited on land, the hot water is limited, there are not many power plugs, toilets and showers are very basic, and there are no knives when eating since everyone should bring their own. Therefore, this is also reflected in the people's disposition toward the other aspects of the life, both personal and collective. For example, it always said that people don't wear any 'mask' when they are in Caprera, they are who they really are and you get to know the true personality of someone.

"people are more naked, they are more naked than... they have a lot less masks than those that they have when you meet them and when you know them in their natural habitat, therefore like in daily life or at work" (INT. 6)^{F.P.}

"you cannot hide your reality" (INT. 10)^{M.I.}

Naturally from a sociological perspective, this narrative and value do not seem realistic, since, as many sociologists would argue, people always wear some kind of mask. Especially, when analysing it from the perspective of certain authors, like Goffman (1971), as I discuss later on. What can be considered to be truer and more realistic is an approach that some people have explained in the interviews about the fact that sailing "puts everyone on the same level [in relation to the sea and nature]" (INT. 10)^{M.I.} and that "you have nothing to demonstrate or show, because you are completely out of context [meaning everyday life]" (INT. 13)^{F.P.}. Therefore, this idea of being truthful and spontaneous could derive from the mix of the lifestyle and also from the fact that sailing has a central role in determining the social hierarchy and status. According to the frequenters, this value is something that really characterises the place and its life dynamics. For example, this idea has huge consequences on how people dress at the school. Being in a place with very few commodities and in which you are expected or you perceive the need to show a different side of you, results in people having a particular dress code. "Fancy or posh" clothes are not welcome and appreciated. They are often

perceived as a way of resisting the dynamics and the person who does it is labelled as a show off or someone that wants to be seen. Of course, the idea of wanting to stand out is seen to be in contrast with the idea of being equal members of a crew in which everyone should be seen and treated in the same way. During fieldwork, it has happened many times that a boy wearing a fancy shirt or a girl a nice dress or even a purse would be called out for being posh. In some cases, that could even spark a nickname and then 'force', through social pressure, that person to go back on their clothes choices. Another interesting episode that highlights this sort of value happened at the beginning of last period of fieldwork when, while having breakfast with two female AdVs, they reported and partially complained the fact that in the morning their barracks mates woke them up while discussing what to wear, how to wear it and how much makeup, if any, they were going to put on. When I asked what the problem was, apart from a strange look because they thought I asked a silly question, they replied:

"this is Caprera, you should not worry about how you look. No one cares, you are allowed and free to put whatever rag you feel you want"

This response showed how, in their eyes, being simple and spontaneous was truly part of the life and the meaning of it was extremely important. Interestingly, apart from the freedom aspect of it, which has already been covered, I thought that this answer, which respects very well the general idea at the school, was extremely contradictory. On the one hand, the island allows you to be free and to drop some of the everyday life constructs that some people may seem as oppressive and annoying. On the other hand, if someone chooses not to respect this idea of simplicity they are immediately labelled as deviant. Therefore, when it is said that there are no constrictions or obligations, it seems quite clear that this is not the case. The obligations and the pressure are oriented towards not displaying particular types of clothes and to look simple and spontaneous.

In conclusion, even if this value implies some clear contradictions and certainly does not seem consistent from a sociological perspective, the impression and the meaning it has for the frequenters is paramount. Being simple, truthful, honest or spontaneous is considered a distinctive aspect of the life that makes the school particular and that characterises it. For the frequenters, it is a value that clearly characterises the community and the crew that it is created while sailing and also separates it from the rest of the world. Therefore, this value is important on an individual level but also on a more collective level in terms of building relationships. Those that will not comply with this simplicity value cannot really be part of the community, since not complying would mean to refuse an essential part of the life.

7.2.5. Conclusion: The Crew's (Sub)cultural Values

The process of addressing the question of which are the values, which are the most important ones and what their role is, has been harder than initially expected at the beginning of the research. In fieldwork as well as during the interviews, my direct question would hardly find an equally direct answer. Even as an insider when I asked myself the same question I must admit I did have the same problem in properly identifying single values. Therefore, I believe that the description of the individual values that have just been discussed only partially represent the 'true' value picture. In fact, they can be distinguished analytically only after they have been derived from a wider 'sphere', which is the one that can be perceived while being there and which was also explained during the interviews. Even in other sailing contexts it does not appear easy to address this question and the values are broadly characterised. Lusby and Anderson (2008; 2010) frame these in terms of "generalised reciprocity" (2010: 87) based on social equality, sense of community and togetherness. All the values discussed could perfectly fit within this frame and description since the common base for both contexts

is the sense of belonging to a wider crew towards which there is a sort of code of conduct.

In general, the values are described more as a “sense of belonging” or a “collective spirit” and respect for other people. Those presented before should be understood as an attempt to logically break down these wider universal values which can be considered, again, to be related to the crew and therefore also to the school. All the different values presented are very similar to one another and in some ways, they also overlap and this could be because they all relate to the idea of being part of a crew, which is the great and universal ‘value’ at the school. People tended to highlight the singular values when asked to be more specific about them but to do that, they would all recur to the description of the practices more than to the description of why that particular practice was relevant. Discerning between the activities and the values did not seem easy for the frequenters. In fact, it is worth also noting how some people have framed the values in relation to the rules of the school:

“from my perspective, the values of the school are those that are functional... the institution values which are then functional for its working, therefore the comandata, the schedule and so on. Everything is needed, so that the mechanism can keep going on”
(INT. 7)^{F.P.}

This quote shows how sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the rules and the values and that perhaps, on certain occasions, the values are communicated as rules and vice versa. When thinking about the structure of the school it seems more plausible that the rules are a consequence of the values that the school wants to transmit. Therefore, the rules have been shaped so that they help to spread and teach the values as well. This highlights how much the community also overlaps with the school and how they seem to create a more complex entity.

It is also interesting to notice how these values go against the more general neo-liberal individualistic approach of everyday life. Especially in fieldwork, participants would often frame these values in relation to everyday life, and in contrast with it. The way in which they would express them was always starting with “on the contrary of...” or “since in everyday life...”. Their framing is tied to the need to create this sense of separation from what is outside the school. The community is based on the common understanding of the importance of the value of the crew and the school, from which the more specific ones are then created. The sense of unity and belonging participate in the creation of those symbolic barriers that help the feeling of isolation and protection as explained in the institution chapter. They can be understood on two different levels: inclusive and exclusive. The former in the sense that they allow social bonds to be created, maintained and passed on. They create a strong sense of belonging within the crew and community. The latter in the sense that the values are used to clearly differentiate the community from the rest of society and from some of the values of the ‘conventional’ society. The crew is thought to be different but also with a sense of being better because it is ideally more sincere, true and spontaneous, even if some of the elements of the ‘conventional’ society are surely still traceable and present.

7.3. Island and (Sub)Cultural Identity

All the elements explained above, as well as those explained in the previous chapters, contribute to creating a distinctive and shared identity at the school and within the community. However, within the notion of identity, it is also worth exploring the sort of individual identity that in some cases can be identified. In particular, through the analytical tools provided by Goffman (1971), I will try to show how this pursuit of distinction and differentiation also has an effect on a more individual level. Dramaturgy in reference to

outdoor education programs, but with some relevant differences compared to the original conceptualisation, has been already been used by Martin (2001), Beames (2005) and Pike and Beames (2008) in outdoor programs. If the (sub)culture has been analysed from a more collective perspective, it also needs to be considered from a more individual perspective. This section describes this (sub)cultural identity by focusing on the individual aspect of it, as well as the more collective ones of the course and the community. Within the school, being socialised in the new rules, norms, values and practices can be regarded as the development of a career. In fact, if from the total institution perspective it is possible to identify a career, surely it is also possible to identify a wider (sub)cultural or community career.

7.3.1. Individual Characters, Careers and *Fronts*

The more time people spend at the school, the more they acquire knowledge and elements that increase their awareness of the place and its dynamics. In experiencing this increase of understanding how the school works, most of the people tend to develop also an 'island or school identity', which is an identity based on the school's characteristics and most relevant aspects of the life. The relevance of this identity is then shown by what can be called characters, or in Goffman's terms 'presenting front'. Therefore, the gestures, language, clothes become a set of "performance equipments" (Goffman, 1971: 32) that are necessary to not lose face, which in this case would mean being seen as an outsider. The creation of nicknames can be seen as the first step of this process. As previously explained, the school engages with a process of mortification of self to reduce to the minimum everyone's everyday life sense of self and introduce them to the idea of being part of a crew in which the collective is much more important than the personal. However, after some time at the school, it seems that the need for people to stand out from the group and to characterise themselves

individually is still present. At the beginning of the career, this can be mitigated by the fact of being in a new environment, and therefore disoriented. The first period of stay could be considered as an “information game” (Goffman, 1971: 8), a period in which people need to learn about the social situation. However, the same cannot be said after some courses, since people already have a clear idea of how the setting works.

In general, there are two different types of characters than can be identified at the school depending on the level of expertise and time spent at the school. In fact, there are what can be considered short-term and long-term characters. The former regards pupils or people who have a very limited experience at the school, while the latter is related to AdvS or instructors who have already spent a good deal of time sailing and participating in the school’s activities. During fieldwork, there were examples of the development of both short and long-term characters.

One of the most interesting episodes in relation to short-term characters happened over the two periods of fieldwork. During an initiation course, we gave one of our pupils a nickname because of the way he spoke. He used to speak in a rude way and used a lot of swear words. At the beginning, he had neutral feelings towards his nickname, but these soon changed. When he realised that he was becoming more ‘famous’ and recognisable he started to amplify the traits that won him the nickname to the point that we had to tell him to calm down since he started to cross the line. During his first week he became known by everyone with this nickname and at the beginning of the following second week he started to complain because the new pupils would not call him with his nickname but just his name. At the point, after complaining to me about this, he decided to not answer any more to his name but just to his nickname. During the second period of fieldwork, I met him again and immediately he complained again that during this new course and after a year he had ‘lost’ the nickname. He then started a campaign to re-establish his ‘island name’ and to have people calling him by it. The

identity that he was given and that he had partially created in the first stay was incredibly important to him. According to him, there seemed to be a sort of prestige around it, even if the nickname originated not for very nice reasons. What mattered to him was standing out from the rest of the crew and to be seen. That nickname meant that he had already been on the island, he knew the rules, practices, language, tricks and secrets. Proving this was much more important than showing, for example, who he was outside the school. I believe that this episode highlights how important it was, for this pupil, to “maintain his face” (Goffman, 1971: 6) as a member of the community, which was in that moment his primary group, being away from his everyday social pattern (Beames, 2005). It seemed as if this pupil was trying very hard to stage a performance that he believed to be true and not being recognised for it was causing him some form of distress or unhappiness. Moreover, it really seemed that he was engaging in forms of “impression management” by “over-communicating some facts and under-communicating others” (Goffman, 1971: 141). In particular, he would stress much more those elements that brought him the nickname originally. To a certain extent, it could be argued that the courses were for him a ‘long play’ in which he was presenting his ‘island self’. Moreover, if this can be considered a particular episode, there are also others in which people that would return, for example, in their second year would have a completely different nickname that would then result in a different ‘self’, therefore stage performance. In those cases, the pupils would engage in different behaviours to sustain their performance. I believe that the short-term characters could be considered part of a ‘long play’. However the same cannot be said of the long-term characters whose characteristics are not ‘re-invented’ at every stay but survive year after year without changing.

Interestingly, over the period of fieldwork, I was able to witness more episodes and relevant moments in relation to the long-term characters. In general, it is possible to say that most instructors have a character or an

island personality that they tend to display when at the school. The long-term characters also carry some personality traits or ways of being, addressing people, teaching style, language or even the choice of clothes which are considered essential for the persona. The episode during fieldwork that most distinctly exemplified this phenomenon happened during one of the informal presentations of Saturday night. In fact, it is common practice that, before the first evening lecture on Saturdays, everyone gathers in the common room where the CT of the 'old' initiation course presents all the different teams of instructors and AdVs of every course to everyone else. This can be considered a sort of less formal presentation in comparison to the one done by the HS during the afternoon and its only purpose is to present the 'staff', in case anyone may need something, and to give another welcome to those that have just arrived. During one of these presentations, one of my colleagues decided to do something unusual by presenting his team, one by one, only through their 'CVC identity' and by doing a sort of parade. In fact, if during the other presentations a CT would introduce the instructors first by name and then by nicknames and they would simply stand next to him/her in a very simple way, this time it happened in a different manner. This CT introduced one by one his team members who would come out individually from the kitchen door (which is on the opposite side of the room from where the instructors normally stand) all dressed up and disguised according to their 'island identity'. They walked through the room while staging an exaggeration of their traits and then stood next to him. Normally, the presentation of this identity happens in a more subtle and discrete way just by pronouncing the name, but this time, and this time only, everything was brought to the extreme with a dress up and a sort of parade. I interpreted this episode as the clear display of the island identity and long term characters of the staff. From a Goffmanesque perspective, the long-term characters are also equally interesting. In fact, they can also be considered as 'fronts' or 'masks' related to the CVC (sub)culture. I believe that the main

difference to the short-term ones is related to the degree of sincerity expressed and the level of the audience's performance recognition. According to Goffman, an individual is 'sincere' when s/he believes in the impression s/he fosters and 'cynical' when the opposite happens. In fact, short-term characters could be seen as more 'cynical', given how they are temporally limited and can very easily be changed, whereas the long-term ones could be considered to be more 'sincere'. This different degree of sincerity also plays towards the transformation of a short-term character into a long-term one, given that it could convince the audience that that is "the one and only reality" (Goffman, 1971: 80). The audience's role is important in this regard, since if they find the performance believable or coherent, by sustaining it, they contribute to the establishment of this new 'self'.

The characters can also be used as part of a wider (sub)cultural career at the school in which everyone contrasts and opposes the general mortification of self that is experienced in the initial stages of the stay. Therefore, the initial mortification of self looks more like a purification ritual used to create a clean slate on which people then shape their identity, fronts and masks based on the values and norms that they learn. Moreover, they also tend to highlight those aspects that are able to make them recognisable and stand out from everyone else. Some of these aspects could perhaps already be part of their personality, while others could be an exaggerated form of the way in which they believe to be perceived by everyone else.

Therefore, everyone tends to have a sort of '*dramatis personae*', a front, while at the school, which in some cases is stronger than in others. Moreover, this (sub)cultural or school identity is also another way of distinguishing the life and the identity at the school from the life outside of it. Thus, it is a tool, based on shared meaning and values, through which the differentiation of the school's (sub)culture is enacted and perpetuated. However, it is curious to see how this particular phenomenon goes against some of the perceived fundamentals of the island, like everyone being

equally part of a crew, like not having individuality or having a very low sense of self. The fact that some people still try to stand out from the rest and to characterise themselves in a certain way also goes against the idea of a setting in which everyone shows his/her true self. In fact, people tend to share a mask or a self which is simply based on different premises, values and norms which tend to contrast, or at least are perceived to contrast, with those of everyday life. Similarly, like in any other moment of their lives, people present themselves in a certain, very Goffmanesque way based on certain social circumstances. What is more likely to happen is that people present certain aspects of their personality which are highlighted by the values and norms of the place and therefore this could be the reason that pushes some people to say that they get to know other people for what they really are. However, to say that people are truer or show their real personality is unrealistic since they just show a different side of it than they do in every other life situation. What is more likely to happen is that they can distance themselves from an identity that they may not like as much as the school's one. Beames (2005) highlights how in expedition experiences this is likely to happen since people are away from the pressures of everyday life. Being in a completely different setting gives them the possibility to redefine their identity according to new expectations. The participants, separated from their primary group of friends and family, find in each other their new primary group in which the new self is shaped (Cooley, 1962). Within this perspective, the CVC is similar to other experience and adventure contexts.

7.3.2. Collective Identity and *the Audience*

When considering Goffman's thoughts in relation on how we present ourselves, the audience, therefore those that have to believe the act and 'judge' it, is equally important. In general, when someone seems to fit into the general idea of being part of the crew and respect the norms and rules,

s/he is considered part of the more general community, given that the performance is considered sincere. Therefore, the audience, composed of all actors, confirms that the performance is consistent and this also reinforces a wider sense of belonging. The Friday night play/poem display seems a clear example of this. The individual island identity is very important but there is also the wider sense of belonging created by this process of maintaining the faces that needs to be considered. Every individual position is still shared within a wider structure in which recurrent patterns can be identified and serve as the base for creating a more general sense of belonging. Given the general immutability of the setting and its practices, everyone still has a very strong sense of belonging even if they develop a more personal individual identity or course identity. The general sense of belonging or the collective identity appears stronger than the individual one, given the pressure of being equally part of the crew and that too much individualism or a too strong a personal character can easily be considered deviant. People connect to each other at the school much more through their general identity that they share as 'Caprerini', therefore as part of a community or a group, since this is also a fundamental aspect of their individual identity. This identity develops quite quickly and already after a week people feel part of it. By looking at the institutional status it is also possible to identify this difference in importance between personal and collective identity. In fact, also the insitutional status has a role in the selection of the fronts. Given the hiearchical structure, the choices of fronts are more limited and everyone also partially shares their position in relation to the institution. Being pupils or instructors, for example, boost the wider sense of belonging, given that these fronts assume collaboration within the school and their institutional position is also a big influence on everyone's front.

Everyone shares an identity given the very similar experiences they have at sea or on land, the particular language, both technical and (sub)cultural, the environment in which they were immersed and the clear understanding of

certain dynamics that may have been different in terms of content but certainly not in terms of structure. In fact, both advanced pupils or instructors who have never met before feel part of the same group and it takes them literally hours to understand each other and develop a close relationship. It is surely through this shared identity that it is very easy for the 'Caprerini' to relate to each other both outside and inside the school. Being both actors, with certain limitations due, for example to the isolation or totality, and members of the audience and the interaction between these parts appears important in creating different characters and a separate social pattern from the one of everyday life and to create a wider identity.

7.4. Conclusion: the Parallel World and the Normative-Expressive Community

In conclusion, the frequenters claim that the school and its community have a different, and perhaps allegedly better, status than everyday life. Claiming the uniqueness and exclusiveness of the school is nothing more than the pursuit of a distinction, a separation that aims to be considered as legitimate difference from everything that is outside the school.

Therefore, the more general objective appears to be the construction of a clear distinction of the CVC social group through the creation of a more general 'taste'. The frequenters aim to distinguish themselves and their practices from those of everyday life. It seems that the CVC becomes a social setting with its own cultural, physical and symbolic capital, central for the construction of a shared identity (Beedie, 2007), which does not want to be put on the same level as everyday life. Overall, the combination of these different capitals creates a more general subcultural capital. This pursuit of distinction is also identifiable when looking at what happens at an individual level. Frequenters create a different front or mask consistent with the field

of the school and they engage in acts of impression management in which, by showing their “real self”, as they say, they reinforce this feeling of distinction. This general process does not simply exclude but tends also to include. In fact, in advocating for the exclusivity also a very strong sense of belonging and of community is created. At the base of this sense of community, there is the ‘cultural substance’ (Hodkinson, 2004) which seems to create a group distinctiveness by eliminating internal differences and by making the subcultural capital the centre of people’s relations. The idea that at the school everyone is treated alike and is similar is important because it contrasts the general notion of everyday life in which much more factors influence people’s relationships.

Therefore, the exclusiveness created by the field of the CVC, its subcultural capital and the dramaturgy involved in it, which also help people to feel included in the same community, together with the construction of a cultural substance, are the most important elements to consider. Their combination and weaving spark the creation of a more general community that could be considered normative and expressive (Walseth, 2006). Normative because of the will that individuals share in taking part in a community based on defined practices, rules and norms; expressive because the identity confirmation and ‘image’ building appears more important than traditional values. This ‘expressiveness’ is also what can link such communities to lifestyle sports (Wheaton, 2004). This normative and expressive community is therefore the result of the different processes that take place in relation to the pursuit of distinction and creation of sense of belonging.

In conclusion, probably the best way to frame the CVC is as a “parallel world” (INT. 13)^{F.P.}, a term taken directly from one of the interviews. The ‘world’ aims to differentiate itself and to create a different environment but there is no real fight against the outside world, perhaps because there is no direct contact with mainstream society. For example, the values previously discussed could also be applied in the normal life of people without creating

any particular disruptions. What happens at the CVC is that they are brought to the extreme. The idea of being in a 'parallel world' has an effect on the sense of belonging or general identity. When I asked the interviewees whether they felt like a 'Caprerino', therefore part of the community or not, apart from one person, everyone answered positively. The reason for not feeling fully part of it, for that only respondent, was that, according to her, one week was not enough to entirely feel part of the group as profoundly as others were. She was missing some experience. However, everyone else already felt part of the community and the school very strongly even if they had only attended for two weeks.

I believe that "parallel world" reflects better the differentiation aims of the general discourse. The school is separate but it runs on the side of the more conventional and dominant culture. This aspect is also covered in the discussion of the gender dynamics to demonstrate how this seems to be a more general feeling at the school. One last episode, I believe, can be used to highlight this parallel aspect of the life. During a week in which there had allegedly been some thefts, which then turned out to be just lost objects, the HS reminded us during a meeting that we should explain to the pupils that they had to avoid leaving valuables on display in the barracks. He did that by making an analogy with a gym. He said that in the same way in which the pupils would not leave their wallets around in the gym changing rooms, similarly they should not do it in the school because the environment is the same. Naturally, all of us were quite surprised by this analogy and the way of seeing the sailing school as just another sport environment like any other. This view was not taking into consideration all the different values explained before and moreover, the idea of trust, which is always considered essential for the crew, was ignored. Some of my colleagues confessed to me later on that they decided to give this message to the pupils but that they framed in a completely different way that would not undermine the school's uniqueness and distinctiveness. They told me:

“this is not a gym, and we certainly don’t treat each other as if we were at one. We are all part of the same crew and not strangers to one another.”

In this episode, the HS completely destroyed the narrative of being in a completely unique place by comparing the CVC to a normal gym. However, this was not acceptable to any of us, since we refused the HS’s analogy. The parallel aspect was highlighted by referencing an everyday life situation in which, according to the HS, the basic rules are the same. Being at a gym or at the CVC could be seen as the same activity only at a different venue and while the latter might have some peculiarities, these are not enough to create a completely different environment.

7.4.1. Theoretical Relevance

The chapter used concepts in relation to post CCCS subcultural studies in the sociology of sport and it aims to contribute to this field of studies. In fact, the chapter, and the research as well, aim to contribute more precisely to the stream of sport studies which has often been ignored in cultural studies (Wheaton, 2007). The contribution is not considered from the perspective of providing a new or critical definition of the concept, but rather by enriching the studies of sport (sub)culture and sailing in particular.

From a more cultural perspective, the research is looking at a community based on the sport of sailing which has not been very deeply investigated. Sailing is a sport that cannot be considered only from one perspective, since there is a great degree of variability in it. Many variables can affect its study and practice: dinghies or yachts, it being competitive or non-competitive, ocean or off-shore cruising, land-based or sea-based and lifestyle or leisure. Most of the literature seems to have focused on ocean cruising lifestyles (Jennings, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2007; Lusby and Anderson, 2008, 2010; Macbeth, 1992, 2010) and very little can be found on other forms of sailing like yachting (Lett, 1983). The CVC community and (sub)culture fits into this

wider debate and stream of studies by providing an insight on a dinghy land-based non-competitive leisure community. Although the research takes on a very particular sailing environment, it can still contribute to the exploration of sailing culture. Some of the values and the dynamics of the school can also be connected to the more general ones related to sailing, such as the relationship with nature, the sense of freedom, the constant availability and sense of equity. A more in-depth comparison with such realities is provided in the thesis conclusion.

Moreover, also the notion of identity and status within the sport cultures appears to have a certain relevance. Other sport subcultures often engage in similar authenticity claims about their identity which cannot be bought but can only be achieved through the practice of the sport, around 'doing it' (Wheaton and Beal, 2003). At the school, in particular, this can be done not just by sailing but also by sharing and participating in all the other activities, like the *comandata*. The knowledge required to be considered part of the crew is not just related to sailing ability but also to the comprehension of the different symbolic markers and activities specific to the school. It can happen at the school that pupils with prior sailing knowledge and ability participate in the courses, but it is not enough, given also the narrative previously explained, to consider them already one of the 'Caprerini'. In order to be seen in such a way they also have to show the understanding of the (sub)cultural knowledge which is irretrievably tied to the school as an institution.

From a more sport-based perspective, when looking at the different studies of sport subcultures some examples clearly stand out, like the work on surfing by Wheaton (2000, 1997; in Rinehart and Sydnor, 2003), Beal (1995; 1996; in Rinehart and Sydnor, 2003;) or on rock climbing and rugby players (Donnelly and Young, 1988). From these and other different subcultural studies, the theory around the definition of sport subculture has critically developed, creating new and different concepts. One of the most relevant

ones is certainly the concept of lifestyle sport (Wheaton, 2013). I thought about this concept in relation to the setting, given not just the sport but also its other specificities and the fact that sailing has been also studied in such a way (Lusby and Anderson, 2008, 2010). However, sailing at the school or even sailing as a sport does not seem to fit entirely in this category even if it shares some features. On the one hand, it is a sport that is predominantly white, middle class and western, where there is a commitment of resources, like time or money, and a style of life or collective expression or a shared identity on a moment or feeling and in being one with the environment. On the other hand, sailing at the CVC cannot be considered a lifestyle, since sailing is not a recent activity, it is not based on the use of new objects, it is not an individualistic activity and it does not try to re-appropriate certain spaces nor resist forms of institutionalisation. When looking at these concepts, sailing, related to the school, seems to fall more under another category which is the one of “expressive sport”, a category initially thought of by Rinehart (1998). In fact, these activities can be considered the opposite of the ‘reward-driven spectacle sport’, since they are not conducted for an audience or spectators or for competitive reasons. At the CVC, the audience, for example, is not really considered since the sport is a lot more related to the idea of emotions and freedom. Nevertheless, expressive sports still maintain a level of self-conscious awareness and presentation of self to others which is really important and that is part of the experience itself (Reinhart in Coakley and Dunning, 2000). This definition of sport subcultures appears to be more relevant for the setting, given the view on the sport but also how important it is to present a certain image of the school, as well as of its frequenters. Therefore, if sailing at the CVC cannot be considered a lifestyle sport, surely it can be considered an expressive sport.

In conclusion, the analysis of the CVC (sub)culture, I believe, should be considered to belong to a wider analysis of the sailing environment but with relevant specificities to the setting. It cannot be said that the CVC is

completely equal to other sailing schools and sailing environments given that the time management, the power and the more general institutional structure are clearly in opposition to other sailing contexts like ocean cruising. As said before, these sailing contexts try to create an environment that aims to be anti-structural, whereas the CVC achieves its goals by creating an environment which is highly structured. Although some of these elements are partially shared within the wider sailing community, they tend to be brought to the extreme at the CVC. These environments, which appear to be very different, still share some similarities and though it would be a mistake to consider the CVC as completely related to the wider sailing community, it would also be a mistake to not consider its connections to it.

Chapter 8

Gender and Social Class

This chapter explores and analyses the effects of gender and social class in the setting and aims to contribute and analysis of the subculture by providing a different point of view on the idea of the “parallel world” and the notion of the school as an “equaliser”. The exclusivity and uniqueness narrative, which are very important in creating and reproducing the school’s community, should also be considered from a more sociological perspective and in relation to the wider society. Social class influences and is probably also influenced by the participation in the school’s subculture. Similarly, also analysing the gender dynamics could contribute to the understanding of the community.

Gender and social class are the two social categories that have emerged during fieldwork but most importantly in the interviews when I asked about any kind of discrimination at the school. I decided to use the term ‘discrimination’ since I believed, especially in Italian, that this term is the most comprehensible for the non-sociological audience. I thought that this term would have allowed them to start a conversation on whatever aspect they perceived to be most relevant. The aim is to highlight how these dynamics work at the school and the consequences they can have for the experience. I firstly focus on gender and then on social class before drawing some general conclusion on what could be assumed from these analyses.

8.1. Gender Dynamics

When asked about the possible sources of discrimination at the school, some respondents identified gender and gender relations as something worth discussing. Moreover, based on some observations during

fieldwork, I decided to ask more about the gender dynamics in the interviews. The picture I obtained from the answers surprised me, since I was not expecting to witness such diverse answers. In fact, there are very different opinions about the gender dynamics at the school. In general, these can be divided into two sides. On the one hand, an opinion that supports the presence of gender dynamics by framing the place as very masculine and male-dominated and, on the other hand, another side that argues in the complete opposite direction by saying that there is no gender discrimination at all. I believe that the best way of presenting these two positions is to do it separately also to better reflect the research process, after a more general explanation of the theoretical concepts used in the analysis. I present each case with its own reasons before drawing some more general conclusions on the topic of gender discrimination in the setting.

8.1.1. Gender Definition

It is important, before discussing the effects of the gender dynamics in the setting, to define how the concepts are understood in the analysis. Within social theory, there are some important notions that shape our ideas related to the study of gender and how this notion is constructed in society. On such ideas is Connell's concept of "hegemonic masculinity" (1987). Using the Gramscian concept of hegemony – a cultural and ideological domination – Connell explains how the male perspective is dominant and creates a pattern of practices that allow male domination and persist over time. In 2005, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) revised and reconsidered some aspects of this concept. They identify four areas in which a reformulation of the concept is necessary. In the last area, which regards "the dynamics of masculinity" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 852), argue that the concept of hegemonic masculinity should also acknowledge the possibility of "democratising gender relationships" (ibidem), therefore to abolish the

power differential rather than just reproducing it. I believe that this aspect of the reformulation could be particularly interesting for the discussion of gender, especially in relation to the idea of undoing gender that I present later. The idea of how gender dynamics are influenced and can endure in time is also based on the idea that gender is a practice and not something biological or natural. In fact, sex is considered to be based on agreed biological criteria, while gender is “the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one sex category” (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 127). This is a practice that can be called “doing gender” (West and Zimmerman, 1987). The action of “doing” is understood from an individual level but also from a more collective level. People perform acts based on the presence of others who are presumed to be oriented in its production. As such, “doing gender” is a performance in which gendered characteristics are displayed and performed to construct gendered behaviours as if they were occurring naturally. It is based on an idealised version of what it means to be masculine and what it means to be feminine. The concepts of hegemonic masculinity and ‘doing gender’ can be considered to be connected. The former deals with the construction of gender from a more structural perspective by analysing the forms of power, while the latter emphasises the interaction and the practice perspective more by focusing on the interaction. Even if there are many more studies that address the question of gender in social theory, from the perspective of the notions that are necessary to explain the school’s dynamics, these two fundamental concepts seem to be the most appropriate.

Gender is a concept that is addressed also in the sociology of sport. In fact, this branch has been for a very long time the analysis of men’s sports but in time it has also moved towards works about women and sport (Whitson in Messner and Sabo, 1990). The sporting environment has often been considered a *situ* in which male power and domination is legitimised (Kidd

in Messner and Sabo, 1990). Moreover, sport offers a perfect stage for showing the masculinising practices in culture and societies (Whitson in Messner and Sabo, 1990). The role of the body in this process is often considered important and some characteristics of physical bodies, such as weight or strength, are also used as arguments, for example, to justify the low participation of female in sports (Pink, 1996; Schacht, 1996; Thompson, 1990; Tolich, 1996). Body and masculinity are very connected to one another and according to Connell (1983), the body sense is crucial in creating a masculine identity. Therefore, learning to be a male or 'doing masculinity' means also to learn to be able to project a certain physical presence, a practice that finds in sports a good environment. When discussing the sports context, it is also important to understand that it tends to be very masculine because of how it is constructed. In fact, the values and norms promoted within sports can be traced back to values of masculinity (Whitson in Messner and Sabo, 1990). A good example of this can be the motto of the Olympic Games: *Citius, Altius, Fortius* (Coakley and Pike, 2009), which emphasises how the athlete should strive to perform faster, higher, stronger, which are values often related to masculinity and that shape the sport.

In relation to the sport of sailing, amongst the very limited literature about it, there are some studies that have looked at the gender dynamics in the sport. In particular, Bricknell (1999) and Crawley (1998) looked at gender in professional and competitive sailing subcultures and clubs, while others have just briefly mentioned how the environment tends to be male-dominated (Lett, 1983). The first article, based on ethnographic data, focuses on the relational and emotional aspect of life in a competitive sport club. It highlights different masculinity practices also by referring to observations regarding sexuality and the discourses around it. Crawley's study focuses on the America's Cup, the oldest and most important sailing competition in the world, to highlight how women's participation is limited

and how technology, based on a masculine rationale, to a certain extent prevents the participation of certain sailors. The winches, for example, are built so that a certain degree of physical strength is still needed to operate them so not everyone can. There is a general refusal to make bigger winches, that would require less strength, because of this masculine understanding of the importance of physical strength. Even if the CVC does not have any competitive aspects and actually goes in the completely opposite direction, it is still worth to consider these studies and also the contribution that this analysis could bring to this particular stream. Therefore, in the final section, I try to draw some parallels between the situation at the CVC and the environments described by Bricknell and Crawley.

8.1.2. In favour: Thesis

During fieldwork, there were many moments in which gender dynamics emerged, especially during the second period, in which I focused more on the issue. The general composition of frequenters is unbalanced towards the male side: usually males are around 60%-70% of the total population (based on a rough count I was able to do during fieldwork). Moreover, there is a general tendency according to which the proportion of females decreases as the technical level rises. This is then also reflected in the staff, with the number of males being higher than that of females. Overall, there are only about 70 female instructors in a register that contains about 570 instructors⁷ (data obtained from the school). The figures show that attendance is male-dominated and surely this has an effect on the gender dynamics.

⁷ These numbers do not reflect the number of instructors that actually come to the school, but only the number of instructors registered. It is said that the number of instructors, who spend at least a week at the school in a season, is around 200.

In certain situations, this masculinity can be clearly identified and also sometimes the discourses become masculine. A first episode or example happened while doing one of the few advanced courses that I had the opportunity to do during fieldwork. During that week, we were staying in the yachts base. Therefore, we were mixed with people doing the yacht course who normally are notably older than those doing dinghy courses. Every morning, before breakfast, the CT of the senior yacht course would have everyone doing the flag rising. One of the instructors would give the commands and he always wanted someone to assist him in doing so. Therefore, he would say “Can I please have a godmother?” [borrowed from the baptism ritual, in the Italian culture, is often used to refer to female figures who actively participate in the role]. At that point, he would look at the young female pupils in our course to wait for one of them to volunteer. Every morning, with the same sentence, a female pupil was ‘invited’ to participate. Although the age could have also been a variable in wanting someone from that cohort, no male pupils were ever called or accepted as volunteers. In fact, one day a male pupil proposed himself but they turned him down repeating that a “*godmother*” was needed. I remember asking some of the people there if they thought that this behaviour was somehow sexist and not fair to a certain extent. The answers I received showed a general lack of interest for this dynamic and actually these people did not seem to be particularly surprised by the fact that a young girl was ‘requested’ for this task. Perhaps, some of the respondents saw this as a sort of ‘positive’ discrimination, therefore a way of being inclusive, but the impression I had was not this. In fact, I believe that if that would have been the case then also other female pupils would have been chosen and not just the young ones from my course. Moreover, I must admit, the context and general feeling as a researcher in that situation made me think that this could be considered a sexist practice. In general, there seemed to be a particular masculine

discourse partially mediated by the fact of doing a sport and also partially mediated by the general patriarchal structure of the school.

If the example just mentioned can be considered as something quite sporadic, the same cannot be said for one of the major sexualised and sexist discourses that can be found in the dinghy bases. Males are expected to find a partner during their course and this cannot simply be applied to pupils but even to the volunteer figures at the school. The practice of looking for a partner is referred to by using a sailing analogy: 'to get the buoy'. Sailing-wise this is a technical operation taught during the first week of the novices' courses. In fact, the boats during the first week are not taken back ashore but, at the end of every day, they are moored at the buoys in front of the slipway. Being able to perform this manoeuvre properly takes a very good level of skill, since there are many variables that need to be controlled. Therefore, in the analogy related to the gender dynamics, the 'buoy' is normally considered to be the woman that 'the boats', the men, in this case, have to try to get. However, in certain rare situations, this narrative is turned upside down and the roles become the opposite. Depending on the context, the same sentence can mean the technical manoeuvre or the sexualised practice. For example, if people are gathered on the terrace or on the stairs in the evening and someone asks "So, has anyone taken a buoy?" it is very clear to what he/she is referring to. Therefore, it is possible to say that there is a general 'presumption of heterosexuality' in the CVC. Being heterosexual is considered to be the standard and this is also shown in other moments of the life. It has happened that pupils that could not perform certain tasks due, for example to a lack of physical strength, were called the Italian equivalent of "faggot", a remark that involves a negative portrayal of non-heterosexual relations. This meant not been considered "man enough" to perform certain actions and therefore their masculinity was challenged. Although this term would last only for that situation, it still highlights how the presumption of heterosexuality within the school, in those situations became "compulsory

heterosexuality" (Rich, 1980). In order to be a "true man" physical strength and sexual orientation were essential. However, I also witnessed situations in which a homosexual relationship was not ostracised and, at least to my knowledge, no-one appeared to have a problem or made fun of that relationship.

Related to this sexist practice there is also another one that it also possible to witness: the "walk of shame". When someone has been spotted the night before going somewhere on the island, looking for some privacy, the next morning when they enter the common room or the morning lecture they are always looked at differently. Generally, the males are perceived to have a sort of higher status since there is a sort of prestige at the school for those males that are able to find a partner, but this can also be said about females. Perhaps, my own reflexivity and position at the school prevented me from assessing if this social prestige is equal. However, based a more general knowledge of these dynamics and the school being a masculine environment, it is likely that the prestige is higher for the males. The general expectation is that the male should be the one making the first move to approach a possible partner, therefore when and if this happens the male is seen as the one that made it happen and, similarly to the sailing manoeuvres, his skills are praised. Men are considered more active and women more passive, which shows how the gender relationships are understood and what are the expectations related to them. Finally, the last element related to this practice regards the so-called "sales". According to this sort of myth, people's inhibitions toward approaches tend to diminish as the week progresses. Therefore, it is easier to get someone's attention during the last days of the course rather than at the beginning. When the "sales" are approaching, normally Thursday or Friday nights, everyone is reminded of what it means and if they have been hesitant or unlucky during the rest of the week they should try once more.

Some instructors, almost always males, also give a proper 'mock' lecture on this specific dynamic. What they normally do is repeat the same lecture they did for the sailing part but they make sure that they insert puns so that everyone understands the difference. Generally, as far as the feedback suggested, this lecture is appreciated by the pupils who find the use of the sailing references to describe another kind of practice fun. During these lectures, every sailing move corresponds to a social approach. It would seem that such practices, especially when carried out by authority figures, tend to be 'institutionalised' and perceived as a normal part of the life. This perception makes the participation in these practices more coercive given the pressure felt by everyone but especially by the females. In fact, when a male is not successful, the female is often blamed rather than him, showing how the power relationship is unbalanced in males' favour.

The instructors have a quite important role in reinforcing this narrative, which also derives from the Italian environment, to the point that it becomes part of the life it is also because of some other explicit practises. For example, when all the daily sailing activities are finished, before dinner and while everyone showers and gets ready for the evening, it is a sort of ritual to have a beer on the little benches in front of the instructors' barrack. These benches face the only road that connects the females' barracks with the common room, therefore every woman that goes to the common room has to pass in front of the mixed group of instructors. In some cases, this 'parade' only ends with a greeting and nothing more, but in some other cases, once the pupils cannot hear or see the instructors anymore, some of them indulge in sexist comments. Normally, these comments focus more on the physical aspects of the female pupils but sometimes also their personalities. Conversely, whenever a man goes in the opposite direction for any reasons they do not receive any kind of attention, proving that the comments are not made towards the pupils in general but towards women in particular. It would be interesting to see if the situation would be the same with

completely inverted gender roles, but this possibility never arose in the setting. There is also an ongoing 'joke', made by a few male instructors, about this sort of parade. In fact, when a woman that is not considered attractive walks by one of the instructors pretends to pull an imaginary lever that would open a manhole leading to a Kraken that would then 'eat' the ugly woman. The discrimination, in this case, is not based on being male or female, as it partially was in the other example, but it is based more on beauty. This theme related to beauty is something that also emerged during some of the interviews:

"The discrimination is more from an aesthetic perspective... An ugly girl may feel discriminated but perhaps also an ugly boy could feel in the same way, it definitely is a place where 'the beautiful ones' have a clear advantage" (INT. 8)^{M.I.}

"There is a little bit of male-female discrimination but, for me, the one that matters the most is hot/not-hot" (INT. 9)^{M.I.}

Both these instructors made the case that the discrimination is mostly based on how people look rather than on being male or female. In fact, for the first instructor, even males could face some problems. Nevertheless, this beauty idea still needs to be put into perspective with the previous fieldwork observation. In fact, it does not seem to contrast with the general observable gender discrimination but rather it just adds to it, enhancing the idea of double standard. To a certain extent, it can be considered accurate that even for males the beauty aspect could be a problem, but ultimately, given the general masculine and especially male dominated environment, it is much less of an issue, if non-existent. It has also been interesting to see that, depending on the instructors that were teaching and their views on this, the level of gender/sexualised dynamics would increase or decrease.

8.1.3. Against: Antithesis

As mentioned in the introduction, there appears to not be a settled view on this matter. In fact, if the data gathered through the participant observation go overwhelmingly in one direction, which is one of very strong and clear gender dynamics, a good number of interviews went completely in the opposite direction. When looking at all the answers that I received, even if there is a mention of certain situations, the general trend is towards the absence of gender dynamics. In fact, here are the most relevant answers in relation to the discrimination question:

INT. 6^{F.P.}: “No, absolutely not. For me, everyone is the same and I am the same for them, there truly is no kind of discrimination or different approach among us”

GG: “Do you think these things [discrimination] are possible?”

INT. 6: “No, there is this parallel world in which if perhaps you are a loser in real life you can then get your payback, and of course vice versa”

INT. 3^{M.P.}: “I guess there is a general levelling”

GG: “Even on gender, have you ever witnessed anything?”

INT. 3: “No”

GG: “Do you think the levelling is there as well?”

INT. 3: “Yes, of course”

GG: “Have you ever felt any discrimination?”

INT. 7^{F.P.}: “No, absolutely not”

GG: “Do you think there is any in Caprera, even if you never saw it?”

INT. 7: "No, I don't think so, I think that no one is discriminated against in Caprera, actually sometimes we value diversity"

GG: "Any discrimination?"

INT. 1: "No, as I was saying before, everyone starts from zero and in the same way. Therefore, no, there hasn't been any discrimination of gender, age, nothing.... No! Sincerely, no."

INT. 4^{M.P.}: "No, no, not for me"

GG: "Do you think it is possible to see any?"

INT. 4: "No because the most fundamental idea, the first thing is how good you are on a boat"

INT. 12^{F.I.}: "I never felt discriminated as a girl, not even as an instructor or Adv"

What these answers seem to suggest is that the perception of the frequenters is not the same as mine as a researcher. According to these respondents, at the school, it is not possible to spot any kind of discrimination and everyone is considered the same and on the same level. Apparently, the reasons for these positions can be traced to different elements. Firstly, the fact that sailing has a very important aspect, not just as a sport, but also because of the role it has in being the key element for determining the social hierarchy and assigning statuses. Secondly, the idea of the crew, in which each one is equals to the other, also has a great impact. Being part of the crew counts for much more than any other personal characteristic. Thirdly, the spirit needs to be considered as something that tends to be inclusive. Because of all these aspects and the idea of being in a parallel world, frequenters tend to believe that they are all being levelled. Since none of the major life characteristics, like occupation, education, class

seems to matter then also being male or female is not considered as something that separates people. The school status that everyone is given when they enter the school does not include any gender distinctions. Therefore, frequenters don't feel discriminated against, if females and males don't feel that this happens either.

One of the most interesting aspects of this particular question was how much consensus there seemed to be across the sample. In fact, males or females, pupils or instructors, novices or experts, gave me more or less the same answers. Therefore, the perception seemed much more shared by the frequenters than what I expected. Moreover, what I think is also quite interesting is not just the alleged absence of gender discrimination but also the fact that according to the interviewees, the school dynamics would prevent this from happening. For some of them, if anything similar would happen at the school it would be completely against the school's aims and values. In fact, if from the participant observation it seemed that the unbalanced gender relationships were part of the life of the school, the interviews suggest that the institutionalised practice is quite the opposite. Therefore, the school does not just erase these differences but also prevents any sort of similar thing happening because of the relevance of the crew. I believe that this particular aspect of prevention is also very interesting because it gives an idea of how powerful certain aspects of the life of the school could be. However, one of the respondents highlight that even though this is something that the school does not really 'allow' it is very much dependent on the person's characteristics and the way in which they present themselves.

“There are no discriminations in the moment in which a girl tries to present herself in a not frivolous way. If she does present herself like that this changes the perception” (INT. 13)^{F.P.}

Therefore, she suggested that certain dynamics could be spotted only when triggered by a certain individual behaviour. However, this analysis raised

other questions, since it implies a standard according to which people should present themselves. The standard, in this case, is imposed by the general masculine and patriarchal structure. I believe that this particular answer probably highlighted a shift in the responsibility of these dynamics. In fact, it is not the group that imposes anything on anyone but rather the group that reinforces a certain personal behaviour. It looks like in this particular case the group would be 'allowed' a more discriminatory behaviour. However, this should also be considered a practice or rationale, well-known in gender studies. In fact, it can happen in an organisation that the gender practices tend to be framed more as personal problems rather than the consequence of interactions in and of a gendered organisation (Claringbould and Knoppers, 2012). Therefore, it would appear to be a personal responsibility to prevent sexist behaviours from happening rather than a more collective process. Nevertheless, this practice tends to strengthen the more general masculine discourse, given that it is this discourse that sets the standard of presentation.

In conclusion, the general perception from the interviews contrasts with the data obtained in the field. The absence or prevention of gender dynamics is attributed to the different values and structure of the school, that, according to these frequenters, puts everyone at the same level, which is sailing-based, regardless of their personal characteristics.

8.1.4. Synthesis (of the Positions)

In conclusion, the data obtained from the fieldwork and the participant observation did highlight some interesting features of the gender dynamics at the school. The different data collection methods have provided very different accounts of the gender relationships. Having considered the evidence in favour and against gender discrimination, I believe that the most interesting aspect is how differently frequenters felt. It is quite clear that

there is no overall consensus in the field, and, as it has happened in relation to another issue, such as discipline, there are different positions,

Firstly, there are those who believe that gender dynamics, and gender discrimination, can be spotted and are something which is clearly part of the life at the school. Moreover, some episodes during the participant observation plainly went in that direction. However, it is also worth noting how the interviewees that supported the existence of discrimination forms pointed out that this was not related that much to male-female but rather to beautiful-ugly. Appearances seemed to have greater importance than gender showing how women may be forced to emphasise their femininity to fit into the social structure. This distinction, based on beauty, is not disconnected from gender dynamics, since the concept of emphasised femininity, introduced by Connell (1995), is an important complement of hegemonic masculinity and describes the orientation to accommodate the interests of men by appearing 'feminine' and 'attractive'.

Secondly, there are those who have never witnessed, or felt, any sort of gender discrimination in the setting. Moreover, according to these frequenters, it is not just them who never witnessed it but it is impossible to witness any in general because the school structure and dynamics prevent the creation of such dynamics. The new status, the spirit, being part of the crew and sailing can be considered elements that, according to these respondents, prevent discrimination.

However, also the role of sailing needs to be considered properly, the distinction between sailing and non-sailing moments, therefore sea and land-based moments. In fact, as it often happens *in medio stat virtus* and there is also a third position that needs to be highlighted which probably can give a more accurate account of the situation, and put together the different data. According to this third position, there are gender dynamics but they

need to be put into the context of the school as a sailing environment. In fact, there are two interviewees that present this position:

INT. 2^{M.P.}: “Nothing too big... maybe something related to gender but in the sense that... I would not say machismo but because there is sailing and it is a physical sport so you also need your physical strength, so, perhaps, males are more... on certain things no? in relation to a girl for trivial reasons related to physical constitution but discrimination – no, *I have seen foreign pupils, coloured pupils, or more simply beautiful and ugly*”

GG: “So if there is no discrimination, is the school preventing it from happening?”

INT. 2^{M.P.}: “I believe yes, it is what we were saying at the beginning, you understand that certain behaviour in Caprera is against the values, so if you are like 16 and at home you act a little bit like a bully and that gives some sort of prestige, in Caprera no, absolutely not”

INT. 5^{F.P.}: “... the place is a little bit masculine in a way, and it pushes towards having two blocks: males and females. These two blocks are also there because of a, let’s call it, geographical collocation, of the dormitories, that I find absolutely correct. Males cannot enter the females’ barracks and vice versa... I don’t think that masculinity in Caprera is entirely negative, for me it has been a way to relate more with females, something that I normally do not really do. I have always been used to be more with male than females and in more masculine environments. It gets annoying when people become obsessed with this idea of the “buoy”, yes there you feel quite objectified and it is annoying. But it is annoying more for practical reasons because you always have someone around, I am not annoyed as woman... I used to do horse riding and it was a similar environment but a different sport in which your physical strength was not that important. If I go sailing and there are 20 knots I can’t deal with the

main, sailing is largely based also on strength and the masculine environment is also related to this.

Since this answer came in relation to one of the wider initial questions, I then tried to return to the topic later on in the interview.

GG: "To go back to what we initially said at the beginning, apart from gender discrimination, is there any else?"

INT. 5^{F.P.}: "Well I don't think it's discrimination..."

GG: "Well, what about different treatment?"

INT. 5: "Men and women are not the same and I don't see why we should all be treated equally. I mean, it is a wider argument but in Caprera you cannot treat a woman, at sea you cannot treat a woman in the same way you would treat a man. You should from a 'respect' level but you cannot on the physical one. I guess the relationship between men and women is on two different levels, when you are out at sea it is extremely tied to physical strength and I don't find any other differences in the approach. When you are on land the relationship tends to be more 'sexist', probably because there are more men and also more male instructors, if there were more women it would be different."

What appears to be interesting from these interviews is how sailing can affect the gender dynamics.

Being out at sea or on land can change the perception around this issue. When out at sea if people are divided into different groups, it is seen to be done in the name of weight or strength and not based on an explicit gender discourse. Moreover, when people are divided according to these criteria the results are very mixed crews because by doing so the weight is more equally distributed. Therefore, the result of this division is actually more equal in the division of gender. In fact, during one of the advanced courses, my CT decided to do fixed crews instead of changing them every day. Therefore, we asked everyone their weight, which did not seem to spark any particular resistance, and then we created the crews based on technical skills

and weight so to reach the most balanced solutions. Since sailing is a sport that requires a good deal of physical strength but even a weight component to counterbalance the boat, this is something that tends to erase, at least in the eyes of the frequenters, the gender discrimination. There are countless occasions when someone is removed from a boat because they are too light without really thinking if male or female. From this perspective, and within the context of the sailing sport, it would be quite hard to make a case for discrimination given that also males are evaluated for weight, strength and technical ability. It has been argued, in some social theories, for example by Judith Butler (2006, 1993), that the distinction of the sexes, and not just gender is socially constructed. The body differences are also shaped by social norms together with the different gendered behaviours. In the case of the school, the focus on weight and strength could perhaps be seen as consistent with this idea. Especially the latter could be seen as more related to gender dynamics and in some cases discrimination. However, because of the role of sailing and the technical objects it requires and that strength is secondary to weight, it seems that the cultural aspect cannot entirely shape the bodily existence, as argued by Nussbaum's (1999) critique of Butler. According to Nussbaum, culture does have an effect on the body but it cannot shape all aspects of it. By recurring to the examples of female runners and basketball players who welcomed the demolition of the prejudices about women's athletic performance but at the same time demanded specialised knowledge on women's training and injuries, she claims that it is necessary to have a "study of the interplay of bodily difference and cultural construction" (Nussbaum's 1999: 8). Likewise, in sailing activities where weight is crucial, bodily difference is more important than cultural construction for assigning roles. Distinguishing between the sea and land-based moments allows us to better consider the gender dynamics in relation to the body and the (sub)culture as well.

This perception is different when considering the life on land which is not directly linked to any physical sporting attribute. Once the sailing activity is finished, it cannot be considered as the lens through which people are seen. In that context, episodes or situations are seen to be more 'sexist' as highlighted in the interviews. Therefore, it is on land that most of the episodes, if not all, related to this issue happen. The two interviews highlighted this separation of land and sea treatments and how this separation is perceived.

In conclusion, it appears that, when considering gender issues at the school, very different points of view need to be reflected upon. It is not possible to ignore the data obtained through the participant observations and what they showed. The time spent in the field clearly revealed that masculinity and femininity are defined and that the former has a higher status. Male are expected to be strong, dominant and leaders while female are not seen in the same way. In very few occasions I have witnessed someone trying to resist these dynamics. As a consequence they were likely to be labelled as deviant since they would not conform to the expectations of be subjected to this treatment. For example, someone would call them "frustrated" and question their femininity. Understandably, resistance, when coming from an authority figure like an instructor, would be treated a little bit differently and that person would be seen as someone that is "spoiling the fun". Nevertheless, similarly to other occasions and episodes, resistance is hard to find and when it manifests itself it never has enough power to spark a change. Moreover, there is another issue to consider which is related to the frequenters' perception as highlighted in the interviews. Very few people tend to see sexism or gender discrimination because of the school structure and way of functioning and when there is it understood to be more related to beauty. What seems to be the key in analysing this issue is considering the land-based activities separate from the sailing. In fact, everything observed during fieldwork and previously mentioned is related to what

happens on land and not at sea. During sailing, the physical component, whether this is weight or strength, is the main aspect that is looked at and therefore any other attribute is not important. Everyone seems to accept this distinction since they tend to see it as an objective criterion for considering sailors. Two people that are considered too heavy or too light would not be equally put on the same boat. Some frequenters also do not see any gender dynamics at all because of the general spirit that the school implements. For them, being male or female is not important at any point of the stay, since what matters is the school status and being part of the crew and the community. Finally, I believe it is possible to say that there are gender dynamics at the school and that there are discourses that clearly point in this direction, however, most participants do not seem to be bothered by them.

8.1.5. Gender, Power and 'Undoing Gender'

The CVC can, therefore, be considered a masculine setting or a setting in which the gender dynamics are unbalanced. The general impression, as said, from the participant observation gives a very clear idea even if the frequenters' perception tends to be opposite contrast with the fieldwork data. In relation to other sailing subcultures, I would argue that the fact that there is no competition helps in mitigating the land based discourses. No one comes to the CVC for the only and main purpose to demonstrate that they are better than someone else and racing is something normally done just the last day of the course to do a different exercise. Self-improvement as sailors is probably an important motivation but it is not necessarily done in relation to other people. According to some theorists, the real problem when considering gender relationships is power (Connell, 1995; Collin Fenstermaker and West, 2002), which is essential in creating gender differences. Therefore, similarly to what has been done by Bricknell

(1999), I believe it is worth trying to explain the gender dynamics in the setting by partially referencing to Connell's (1987) social structural approach for analysing gender and power. This approach is based on the analysis of three different but interrelated structural submodels which explore what it means to do gender and the power relations involved. Having already explained the main observable and relevant points above I will relate them to the three submodels to highlight some features of gender and power in the setting since, according to Connell (1999), gender relations can be studied at the level of social practices, social structure and subjectivity.

The first focuses on the division of labour, for example certain jobs are assigned based on particular categories of people and eventually, this division can become a constraint. When thinking about the division of labour in the setting, the first thing that comes to mind is the *comandata*, the day of duty that everyone has to do. When looking at this moment, it is interesting to notice that although this day may include activities often more associated with women, this is not the case in the setting. Everyone is expected to do it regardless of their gender and even when doing it the work is equally shared among the pupils. Moreover, for example when rigging or unrigging the boats, if the sails need to be taken back to the deposit the person in charge of it is not chosen based on their gender. Therefore, it seems that the crew aspect and the values of equal share and availability tend to diminish or erase gender stereotypes.

The second submodel is related to the construction of power in relation to hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity, therefore the idea that women should conform to the desires of men and the existence of social constructions that recreate a binary understanding of gender. In the setting, for example, this could be related to the extremely patriarchal hierarchy and behavioural expectations. The highest positions are occupied by men and the vast majority of instructors are males. This situation reinforces the idea of male power and the idea of an authority that is very much related to

masculine traits. Therefore, it could appear that to become an authority people need to express more those traits related for example to strength and toughness. At the same time, women are not expected to lose their femininity and still need to look feminine. Therefore, these relations work as social structure as a pattern of constraints that shape the social practices.

The third and final submodel is called cathexis, a term that Connell (1987) takes from Freud and that signifies the construction of emotionally charged relations with objects or people. In the case of the school, this can be related, for example, to the analogy of the 'getting the buoy'. The normative discourse related to the construction of intimate relationships lies on the notion that 'boys will be boys', therefore a very masculine approach to it. Moreover, in some certain situations there is also an assumption of female's passivity. In the same way, the 'Kraken practices' underlines the same rationale and logic of the men that are supposed to a 'hunt' and have a more powerful position in administrating such dynamics. In particular, this dynamic, even if in a less pronounced way, is more or less the same that Bricknell (1999) has identified in her study. The fact that sexual discourses, and acts are such an open discussion topic shows "how important it is for hegemonic masculinity to ground sexual narratives into social structures" (Bricknell, 1999: 427). Therefore, the hegemony is also grounded in the sexual practices of the bodies that rely on the basic assumption that males are more oriented towards sex while females to emotions. By recurring to this simplistic and constructed notion, power is able to endure and consolidate itself (Sattel, 1976).

Even if this analysis clarifies some aspects of the gender and power dynamics and demonstrates the generally masculine orientation of the place, it is not entirely clear why the frequenters argue that there is no gender discrimination. It appears that there is a moment in which gender is 'undone' and most the frequenters do not seem to realise the existence of certain dynamics. This moment, that seems to be more relevant for the frequenters,

appear to be related in particular to the division of labour, thus the different roles at the school. Moreover, it seems that the sport of sailing has a huge impact in enhancing this perception. Undoing gender is an expression introduced by Deutsch (2007) and related to the article by West and Zimmerman (1987). If in fact, gender can be done-constructed, it can also be undone-deconstructed. Although according to Deutsch sport is often a male domain in which male domination is reinforced or certain sports are constructed as a male sport (similarly to the America's Cup technology issue), I believe the CVC, at least at its novices' level, needs some particular consideration. In this case, it is through sailing that gender appears to be undone. Since everyone is assumed to be a beginner with no prior knowledge this aspect becomes more relevant for the structure. The boats are not that demanding or technologically advanced to justify the creation of a more masculine discourse around them. The only physical attribute that in some cases could have an impact is weight but, at least at this stage, it does not create a differentiation based on gender. I believe that the undoing of gender is more relevant, if not solely relevant, to the novices' courses because as the sailing career progresses more physicality and strength are required to properly control the boat and excel in sailing. Therefore, the attributes culturally associated with masculinity gain more and more importance as the sailing level increases and this could, for example, explain why there are fewer females in the very advanced courses and in the teaching body. The boats for more advanced courses are more complicated, demanding and performing and reflect, to a certain extent what Crawley (1998) explained about the winches in the America's Cup.

The CVC is a setting in which the masculine discourse is dominating and in which the social structure encourages masculine practices to take place. I believe it is interesting to see how this environment, which is dominated by hegemonic masculinity, seems to be open, in certain moments, to a "democratisation of gender relationships" as discussed by Connell and

Messerschmidt (2005: 852). Those that hold power from a gender perspective, seem to be giving up some of it in particular moments of life. In fact, there is an aspect of the day life that seems to stand out for the absence of this particular narrative. Especially at the novices' level, sailing seems to work in the opposite way as it normally does in relation to gender dynamics: apparently it 'undoes' them and creates a more equal environment. However, to say that gender is 'undone' is not entirely precise. When looking at Deutsch's (2007: 116) article, it would be more accurate to say that gender becomes irrelevant. In fact, according to some theorists, gender is a master status that overrides any other status (Deutsch, 2007), however, this statement seems controversial. According to cognitive psychology, we automatically access stereotypes when we face certain situations but this automatic access can be reduced by a number of factors, for example, intentional attempts to avoid prejudice or exposure to counter stereotypical images (Blair and Banaji, 1996; Macrae and Bodenhausen, 2000). Similarly, this can be applied to gender (Ridgeway and Correll, 2000), which must always be considered to be in the background, but whose salience can vary according to different situations. The moment of sailing and sailing related moments, like rigging, at the school could be considered as such situations. Together with the totality of the place, the discipline and the subcultural pressure-capital, when sailing the relevance of gender is much less than in the rest of the life. This could be a reason behind the fact that every mention of sexism or unfair gender dynamics take place on land and not at sea. However, as said many times the sea aspect is just one side of the life at the CVC and therefore once on land gender becomes again very relevant.

In conclusion, the sailing practical aspect of life at the school tends to 'undo' gender by making it less relevant in some particular situations that everyone accepts, whereas in relation to the land activities it seems more controversial. The CVC, even if cannot be considered a competitive environment, appears also to have discourses and practices that are like

other clubs and sailing environments, even if probably the non-competitiveness tends to diminish their effect. Finally, it is also worth mentioning that this conclusion derives from the type of data collected and especially their contrasts. Having such opposite answers on this issue proved to be quite problematic given that I needed to respect both accounts. In presenting the gender relationships I tried to represent also the thinking that I have been through during the entire research process by trying to respect my impressions as a social researcher as well as the frequenters voice.

8.2. Social Class Dynamics

8.2.1. Social Class Definition

If the issues around gender appeared to be debated problematic, the same cannot be said about the class dynamics. Before explaining the consequences of social class at the CVC, it is worth considering two elements that are necessary to better understand the analysis.

The first is related to how the notion of social class is understood from a sociological perspective. In general, social class can be understood as a way of categorising people who share a position in society based on a combination of different elements like their income, wealth, education, occupation, and social connections (Coakley and Pike, 2009). Nevertheless, the notion of social class is more precisely defined following Pierre Bourdieu's thoughts, as he also analysed sport in relation to social class. Bourdieu does not understand class as something which is solely based on the economic dimension, but it is also determined by cultural and social aspects. In fact, he identifies three different capitals that constitute his understanding of social class and social stratification (Bourdieu, 1984). The economic capital is the control over the economic resources, the cultural capital is the collection of intellectual assets and finally, the social capital is

composed of the resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support (Bourdieu in Richardson, 1986).

The cultural, economic and social capital are equally important when thinking about social class in sports. Bourdieu (1978) also provided an analysis of how social class influences sport and the way in which sport is performed and chosen. The habitus which can be defined as a system of dispositions that shape “thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions” (Pierre Bourdieu, 1990: 55) can influence the choice of doing certain sports. Therefore, Bourdieu’s notions appear to be important for understanding how social class can have an influence on the CVC dynamics since it represents a barrier for thinking about sailing as a possible sport. Although it could still be possible for people outside a particular class to participate, considering sailing as a viable and interesting sport could represent a huge barrier to overcome.

The second clarification regards a preliminary analysis, in relation to the economic capital, of those who attend the school. A week during high season, the period in which I conducted fieldwork, costs on average around 1000€ (£800), whereas two weeks can be slightly more ‘affordable’: €1600 (£1300). Therefore, any reference to pupils or frequenters needs to be into perspective with this fact. In general, the frequenters belong at least to the Italian middle class and, moreover, from the North and Centre of Italy. Apart from these general reflections, I cannot provide any evidence or data about the social class composition of the frequenters since the research methods could not possibly collect this kind of data.

8.2.2. Social Class at the school

When asking people about the discriminations in the setting I was surprised to hear that no one really acknowledged any difference in terms of social class, not even related to income which, perhaps in a non-academic

environment, is the most immediate way of thinking about social class. What is interesting about this particular issue is perhaps the absence of quotes or data. No one really seemed to pay attention to the fact that to access the school a sizeable amount of money is needed and therefore this can be considered as the very first form of discrimination. Preventing access based on money is surely something that already 'selects' the frequenters. I believe that this fact can also be seen as part of a vicious circle. In fact, the reason why people tend not to see this problem at the school is because they do not have to be confronted with it during the staying since who they meet have already broken this access barrier. Moreover, everything is normally paid well in advance of the beginning of the course and secondly, which is perhaps more relevant to my generally young sample, parents or relatives take care of this economic aspect.

Furthermore, as discussed, the dynamics of the school have a very important role in determining the topics that are discussed but also the general narrative. As often said by the frequenters, everyone starts from zero at the school, it does not matter who you are in your real life because "you are not wearing a mask". Even if this is just a narrative, as previously said, it still has a great effect on people's relations and way of presenting themselves. Therefore, the way in which the school is organised in giving a new equal status and identity as part of a crew tends to take people away from this issue. Being born into a noble family or in middle-class one would not make any difference and unless this is presented by the person, it would not come out in the topics as part of the normal discourses. Moreover, novices tend to be very shy when they first arrive given that they do not know the place therefore they keep a very low profile, whereas more expert frequenters being already socialised in the setting would comply to their island identity and status as part of a crew of equals. The idea of having a status which is simply related to the sailing ability and the institutional position prevents, in the great majority of cases, any reference to wealth or social position in

everyday life. A good example, I believe, can be found when looking at the dress code that the school has. As explained in the subculture chapter, people tend to dress in a very spartan and simple way without putting too much care, according to them, on what they are wearing. The general norm can be called 'keep it simple' and it is very important that people respect it. When they do not comply, they are labelled as deviant and it is at that point that the issue of social class is brought up. In fact, those that condemn this dress code always frame it in terms of 'show-off' in relation to those people's status in everyday life. The idea is that they might want to show themselves to be rich and wealthy, this is extremely against the crew idea. In the crew, everyone is supposed to be treated in the same way regardless of any personal characteristics. Therefore, these actions show a very individualist way of approaching the rest of the crew, since it would seem that they want to stand out from the rest of group based on an outside value, which at the school is a 'disvalue'.

Probably only once during fieldwork, this kind of behaviour has been criticised profoundly and not just as a mockery. In fact, it was coming from an AdV, someone that it is assumed has already learnt what it means to be a 'Caprerino' since otherwise he would not have made it until that position. This AdV would just come out with unelicited exclamations about what his father's job was, in which exotic places he had spent his holidays, in which club he would go and how much he spent there, and so on. Expert frequenters were put quite off since by this since they felt it was inappropriate and unnecessary. The general comment about him where that he should have known better and that he did not understand what Caprera was about. Moreover, this understanding that he had of class or family's wealth was also reflected by his performances, according to some instructors. All his wrong or inappropriate actions were reconnected to his presumed interest of being regarded based on what or who he was outside the school. When he jumped the line at the shop because as he said "AdVs

don't queue" and some of the pupils came to the instructors' barracks to complain all the instructors saw that behaviour as a consequence of his 'showing off' attitude. He then paid the consequences of not being a good AdV and also of this attitude that cost him a sort of suspension week in which he was sent as a pupil in a yachting course instead of doing the AdV as he should have done.

The idea that Caprera works as an "equaliser" (INT. 10)^{M.l.} has also been brought up, in relation to social class, in one of the interviews. In fact, in answering the discrimination question a pupil told me about an episode that happened to him while doing one of the most advanced yachts' courses. In this course, pupils travel around the North of Sardinia and South of Corse for a week while living on the boat. Therefore, when they arrive on Saturday they then leave and come back on the next Saturday and for that week they sleep and learn on the boat. However, it is sort of an unwritten rule that the last night before coming back to the school people go out for dinner to treat themselves a little bit and because they may be short of supplies being at the end of the stay. It was when this dinner happened that the interviewee had to face the issue of class discrimination. It is also a common practice in Italy to divide the bill according to the number of participants to the dinner. Therefore, if everyone has eaten more or less the same the total is split into equal parts, which also is something very much related to the idea of the crew. This would not usually happen if people ordered very different menu items with very different prices as it did happen on that occasion. However, the bill did not get moderated based on the different food choices. In fact, as he said:

"What we normally do if we go out for dinner, is that if I get a pizza and the other guy orders a lobster he then compensates his share, but in that occasion, those two people [that decided to get something more expensive edr.Note] did not really care and in the end, they influenced everyone's bill".

He then continued:

“We go back to the idea of a closed circle; this circle broke in the moment in which as an itinerary course we decided to go out for dinner. In that moment [referred to the episode mentioned above] we had to take out money from our own pockets. Therefore, the equalisation, that normally happens when you are having dinner at the school and there is no difference, disappears when the circle is broken, when you exit the isolation, the protected environment, in the moment in which you have to bring up your identity, even the economic one. This is when diversities come out” (INT. 3)^{M.P.}

I believe that this one account can unveil some of the other features previously mentioned in other chapters. The isolation protects and, in this case, equalises, even if the access barrier still needs to be considered, the experience and the pupils. The fact that the school provides for everything while people are staying helps in eliminating some differences, especially economical ones. Even if, in certain situations, the presence of the shop can still remind people about them, since certain people tend to spend more than others. However, this is a very limited contact that frequenters have with money and it is also a lot less evident during the stay. Even if someone buys a lot of drinks, it is very unlikely that this generates the fall of the barrier since it is very hard to notice given that the purchases happen ‘privately’ and even if someone spend a great amount of money there are no bragging episodes. I have seen pupils or instructors offering drinks to friends but it seemed to be done according to a sort of offering-exchange rule. Everyone would have a turn in paying a round of drinks for his/her friends as a kind gesture.

Social class in the CVC needs also compared to other sailing realities. Macbeth (1992) describes those that participate in the ocean cruising subculture as coming from a “wide range of socio-economic backgrounds” (1992: 322) and not from a similar structural position. Macbeth does not

provide any in depth discussion of the reasons for such situation but he advocates that the norms of that sailing subculture are shared and embraced before someone can be defined as an active participant. It seems that Macbeth ignores the problem of the access to the means of participation, for example a boat. At the CVC, this barrier must be considered given that accessing is absolutely essential for participating. It is possible to say that the main way in which social class affects the frequenters of the school is by working as an access barrier. The high cost of a course as well as the thought of considering sailing as a sport based on cultural and social capital is surely what most influences the field. However, some traces of it can still be found but only when deviant behaviours are spotted. The relevance of the school status and sailing ability in an isolated and total context tends to diminish the importance and perception of class differences. Whenever these differences are brought up, they are immediately put under the spotlight and they then disappear for the crew's sake and under the crew's pressure. Again, the crew, or the notion of the crew, seems to have the upper hand, as INT. 3^{M.P.} concluded:

“the social ranking, the working experience and every other related aspect are left outside... to create a crew”

This feeling seems to be valid not only for the frequenters and those who participate in the courses but also in relation to the paid staff. As previously said, pupils tend to have very little contact with them, apart from the cooks, and these people are considered as a necessary and effective part of the crew. There seems not to be any significant differences in behaviour towards them. Ultimately, what needs to be truly acknowledged is the role that class has in determining which people frequent and therefore that everything that has been witnessed is influenced by this. Participating in the CVC activities is something that only privileged people can do and this reinforces their sense of belonging by creating an elite group or, as said by INT.3^{M.P.} a “closed circle”. For a certain period of time during the year, frequenters have the

privilege to give up, by buying, their everyday privileges that derive from a certain social position and they do not seem to have any particular awareness of this.

How social class affects participation, together with the aims of creating a distinction, could also be considered together. It may be possible to link the discussion of social class with taste and some of the aspects discussed in the previous chapter. If taste and the general experience of the school are important in determining the exclusiveness and sense of belonging of the frequenters as a social group and subculture, it may well have an effect in re-enforcing the distinction from a social class perspective. Given that only a certain class of people can afford or think about participating at the CVC, the participation itself could become an important element in claiming or “gaining the distinction” (Mukerji and Schudson, 1991: 363) from the other classes that do not participate in the school. In relation to social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), for example, having participated in the school could help in the creation or confirmation of a network of specific connections related to the particular class that attends the school. Similarly, the affordability of the course and the sailing knowledge or even the (sub)cultural knowledge could be important in recreating the social class distinction. Those that have participated in the school share not only the experience but also this more structural ‘privilege’ that could have the effect of reinforcing social class differences. Those people that have never participated at any course may be considered to be part of a different class or a different group within society. Because of the school structure, I believe, it would seem that the claimed (sub)cultural distinctiveness could be considered more of an intentional process, purposely started by the frequenters, while the one just described could appear as consequence of it. Since it does not appear necessary to establish which of the two processes comes first, it is also important to take this consideration carefully because this ‘causal’ relationship could also be the opposite. It seems quite hard to give a clear picture also because of the

impossibility of doing more precise comparisons, though the effects of social class on sailing and vice versa could be an interesting topic for future researchers.

8.3. The relevance for the Spirit

It is worth specifying that these sections have attempted to put in relation the different aspects of the gender and social class dynamics identified at the school with some of the relevant literature in social theory and sailing but, these sections do not aim to provide a full account of sailing gender and social class dynamics but to contribute to the more general description of the different practices in relation to the CVC spirit. Therefore, the section is limited by the fact that it needs to be understood in the context of the research question.

The discussion of how gender and social class influence the setting seems important in relation to the idea of a 'parallel world' as introduced in the previous chapter. The different perception of these dynamics seems to corroborate the idea that most of the frequenters have about the school as distinct from everyday life. Therefore, the distinction is not only related to the specific practices that take place at the CVC but also on how the school seems to influence gender and partially social class practices to which frequenters may be more accustomed. Perhaps, the moments which are different from the experiences of everyday life appear to be more relevant for the frequenters and when asked about the discriminations they highlight them over the more 'normal' ones. The pursuit of distinction could have a role in determining the answers I obtained since frequenters could tend to refuse the idea of a place that reproduces normal gender or social class dynamics. The constant practice of framing the school as different and special could prevent people to properly consider certain issues. Even though I am an insider, the interviewees may have been wary of telling me

something so clearly against the alleged uniqueness or sense of community. However, it is still worth mentioning how the sense of being distinct and divided by what is outside the school could also be re-enforced by the unfolding of these moments. The fact that life revolves around sailing, both on land and or sea, seems to be particularly significant in framing the place as different even from the perspectives discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: The Spirit

This final chapter aims to provide a more explicit and in-depth account of the spirit of Caprera by combining the elements described in the previous chapters and by adding a final analysis. The chapter provides a final account of the social practices of the CVC and answer the question: 'what is the spirit?'.

The starting point for answering this last question is the literature review and the elements discussed in it. I will build and construct the description of the spirit by highlighting its key characteristics before concluding with a more precise definition of it. The previous explanations have tried to set the foundation for this last discussion and to express those feelings and sensations from the perspective of someone that frequents the school. The investigation of the spirit as something ephemeral and indefinite has been challenging in the research process. Treating this notion as a fluid concept allowed a good deal of flexibility and not having a rigid structure permitted the different characteristics of the spirit, that I now discuss, to emerge. These characteristics need to be understood within everything that has been previously discussed in the analysis of the school. It is important to understand that the notion of spirit is extremely tied to and comprehends all the main features of the school: the notion of crew, discipline, the total aspects of the institution, rituals, routine, time, culture and the pursuit of distinction. Finally, the chapter also makes some final considerations in relation to the research as a whole.

9.1. The Spirit

9.1.1. Spirit in the Literature Review: A Starting Point

The research has investigated not only the social processes that take place in Caprera but, alongside this aim and strictly related to it, also the question surrounding the spirit, its nature and its significance. In the previous chapters, the spirit has been mentioned but in a very careful way, in fact, I did not want to engage with this concept in too much depth before having provided a more complete picture of the school's practices. Starting from the discussion of spirit and spirituality in the literature review, it would seem appropriate to characterise the spirit of Caprera as something that belongs to a more human dimension (Parry, 2007). Spirit and spirituality cannot be solely applied to the religious sphere but can also be considered in relation to institutions and communities. As explained in the dedicated chapters, the CVC is an institution that also creates a community with specific characteristics. Within the different streams and new ways of interpreting and considering spirituality (Parry, 2007: 1), the CVC appears to belong to the stream that relates the notion of spirit to the meaning developed and based in the experience or practice of a person or a group. It appears that the experience and practice are two key elements that can be used to describe the spirit of Caprera. In order to understand and internalise the spirit, having a personal experience of the place and its dynamics is essential. I believe both the interviews and the fieldnotes show how central the experience is. Many times in the interviews, the spirit came up both in the more general questions as well as in the explicit one about it. One of the elements that surprised me was related to the fact that it has been very hard, if not impossible, to find a definition of it or even to describe it in a precise way. There are different quotes that I could use to highlight this fact but I think one in particular stresses this point:

“If we had to explain it [the spirit] we would not be able, they [the pupils] have to understand it alone, on their own. The only way for us is to set the example and show it, physically...” (INT. 10)^{M.l.}

The spirit must be perceived, experienced and practiced to be understood and internalised. What this instructor is stressing in this answer is how participating and enacting the spirit is the only way in which it is possible to feel it. However, the need to experience and practice the spirit does not help define what the spirit is. This explanation puts the spirit in the relation to the way in which it has been defined in sport studies in which not only the experience is central but also the process of directly learning it (Robinson, 2007). The impossibility of explaining the spirit seems to emphasise the importance of the learning process. The connection to the centrality of learning highlights also another important aspect of the way in which spirituality has been understood in sport studies (Robinson, 2007). In fact, spirit can also be understood as the collective essence of a particular group or organisation that seems to possess a mystical nature. This essence is related to ‘doing’ and enacting those characteristics of the group which are structured holistically. Therefore, the spirit of Caprera can be considered to fit in with those studies that investigate spirit in spheres that are not related to religion and that consider its creation to be related to learnt experiences.

9.1.2. Spirit as a Holistic Experience

I believe that the learning process are crucial for understanding the spirit of Caprera. One of its key characteristics seems to be the fact that it can only be understood and experienced holistically. All the different chapters of the thesis should be considered as the explanation of one of the many faces of the spirit of the school. Each of them is a part of the experience but none of them appears to be more important than the other. It is possible to imagine the spirit as a cube and, for example, the institutional

aspect of it or the time aspect of it can be seen as a face that composes that cube. Without one of the faces, the general impression would not be same. In the same way, focusing only on one face would not provide the same feeling. Dividing the explanation into different sections, to provide a better and deeper account of the setting, has been done for analytical purposes only. The setting and its different characteristics are experienced as a whole and not as separate, as I presented them. How the different elements interact with one another and how this creates a sort of particular equilibrium between them is probably one of the most interesting findings of the research. The institutional form of the school, the routine and the ritualistic moments, the cultural aspects, authority and sport panopticon features are extremely intertwined. It also seems that in those cases in which a particular characteristic could spark some negative experience or become stressful, one of the other elements plays a role in mitigating this negativity. Some examples could help clarify these positions. Being in a total institution can be challenging from many different perspectives but staying there for a limited period of time changes this possible negative outcome. The constant authority and disciplinary regime of the school is mitigated by the land moments and by the fact that everyone is described as being part of the same crew in which everyone has to participate in the different activities based on what he-she can do. During the analysis of the different chapters I also tried to express and transmit the level of intertwinement between these different sections. All the chapters needed and had some sort of reference to elements discussed in the previous ones or in the following ones. The reason for presenting them in this particular order is to try to create this impression of wholeness and mutual influence that the elements have on each other.

During the data analysis, this idea that the spirit could only be understood when looking at the whole experience, therefore holistically, has, I believe, transpired in different ways. The first one is related to the fieldnotes

collected and to the way in which I coded them. When coding I did create a code for the 'spirit' to highlight every reference to it in terms of action or even expressions. Once I finished coding and I started the process of revision of it I realized that all the parts I had coded were referring to the different chapters rather than to the spirit directly. It seemed that I could find reference to the spirit only when focusing on an element of it but it was not possible to provide a more comprehensive idea. Moreover, in the interviews, when I focussed on the spirit, again, the respondents were never able to provide a precise definition of it but they referred to it by recurring to other terms and by making reference to different aspects. They would often start the answer about the spirit by saying "it is linked to everything we have discussed so far" or "it is the sum of the different aspects". Therefore, this sensation of holism was conveyed both by myself and my fieldnotes as well as by the respondents of the interviews.

This sense of holism seems to be characterised by the experiences and practices of the school, but also by the physical place. In fact, the idea of exclusivity, together with the isolation and the relationship with the nature, or the physical place more in general, give a different value to the setting. The frequenters refer to this spirit as the "the spirit of Caprera", putting a great emphasis on the importance of that particular setting. The fact that the physical space is clearly limited by the boundaries could help in creating an even more defined experience and holistic experience.

9.1.3. Spirit as *Gemeinschaft* (Community) and Mechanic Solidarity

Since the spirit can be considered the collective essence of Caprera, based on the collective experiences, practices and place, it appears important to define the community and the sense of belonging to it. When asked to define the spirit, many people refer to it as a sense of belonging or even a "spirit of belonging" to the community. In the chapter that covered

the cultural aspect of the life, I framed the community in terms of being normative and expressive. However, when considering also the spirit, it is possible to relate the community of Caprera to the concept *Gemeinschaft* as defined by Tönnies (2001). This concept is often translated with the word 'community', which in Tönnies' theory is opposed to the concept of *Gesellschaft*, translated into 'society'. The latter is often characterised as the evolution of the former and in it individualism, competition and egoism tend to become dominant within social relations (Nisbet, 1984). *Gemeinschaft* tends to keep people united regardless of any separating factors, whereas the *Gesellschaft* works in the opposite direction. At the school, this can be seen when considering the idea of crew and its centrality. In fact, every form of individualism, especially related to everyday life, is discouraged and opposed at the school, since they are against the spirit. The same tension between these two classical concepts can also be identifiable when looking at the school's exclusivity claims and explicit aim to create a separation from the society that is outside. It seems that the school tries to frame itself in a way that is extremely similar to the way in which Tönnies frames the difference between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Tönnies' concept of *Gemeinschaft* is based on the notion of 'natural or essential will', which can be defined as a sort of instinctive drive towards a social group. This 'natural will' pushes actors to consider themselves as means to serve the goal of that particular group. It is not the individual benefit that counts but the collective good. This type of will tends to prevail in families or in groups in which friendship or kinship, for example, are central. The CVC frequenters appear to be tied by this same bond given the level of emphasis that the notion of crew has. The spirit seems to be central in creating the community which is not simply based on the practice of a sport. *Gemeinschaft* is also associated with the idea of being the place from which the "good", anything thought to be cherished elemental states of morality in society, derive from, for example love, loyalty or honour. In general, these communities

(*Gemeinschaft*) are “the home of morality, the seat of virtue” (Nisbet, 1984: 76). The spirit, the collection of the different elements, seems to play a very similar role at the CVC (community and institution) and it is considered to be the source of morality. A particular attention is given to the values or the norms of the culture and the CVC community. Above everything seems to be the idea of sharing everything among equals. As said in one of the interviews:

“The spirit of Caprera is something that pushed you in wanting to share and to give without necessarily expecting anything back or in return” (INT. 11)^{F.I.}

This sense of morality and virtue, as opposed to the more individualistic nature of everyday life and related to the people that share the experience and toward whom a sort of natural bond is felt, creates a very strong “spirit of belonging”. People feel part of this community that claims to be distinct from everyday life also through this sort of normative discourse about the values and their higher moral ground. The spirit becomes essential for the sense of belonging to the school and its community and it is through the spirit that it is possible to identify the CVC community as extremely similar to the kind of community described by Tönnies. The spirit is considered the ‘natural will’ of the CVC community and it includes the common beliefs, practices and experiences. The emphasis on the place (land) seems very similar to the underlying consensus created by the residence in a common locality as explained by Tönnies (2001). The island itself and the setting become an integral part of the spirit. Thus, the community appears to have a strong sense of belonging, to be geographically immobile and characterized by values and attachment to the locality that are all created and put together in the notion of spirit. This “spirit of belonging” also sparks and creates a strong sense of solidarity in the community.

I believe that there are very interesting similarities between the sense of belonging of *Gemeinschaft* and the kind of solidarity that can be identified at the school which seems to be similar to the 'mechanical solidarity' as conceptualized by Durkheim (1984). Similarly to Tönnies's concept, mechanical solidarity is a form of social cohesion in which tradition dominates and forms of individualism tend to be lacking. The individual is subordinated to the needs of the collective and property tends to be communal and not personal. It would seem that this form of solidarity could include all the elements discussed throughout the different chapters in relation to the idea of crew and to the different values, norms and also more explicit rules. The spirit appears to be the element that creates the sense of homogeneity that is required in the kind of communities in which this solidarity dominates. Generally, these types of communities are characterised by being small and with little division of labour. The community of the CVC in general perhaps cannot be considered small but the fact that the island is inhabited by a small number of people every week probably allows the mechanical solidarity to rise. The spirit is the key to allowing people to feel connected and part of the same community but it is initially learnt or practiced at the school by small numbers of people. The spirit represents the shared aspect and understanding on which people found their sense of belonging. Therefore, the spirit has the role of substituting the notion of kinship or family that normally are the basis for the small-scale community in which Durkheim identifies mechanical solidarity, similarly to Tönnies' notion of 'natural will'. Moreover, the fact that the practices at the school have been the same for about fifty years and the way in which the school practices have been maintained throughout this period, allow people to relate to one another's experiences even if they have not met physically before. The school's community, in Tönnies' sense, is based on the spirit which is the element that allows a mechanical form of solidarity to rise.

A final element to consider is that both Tönnies and Durkheim were thinking about the concepts of community and solidarity in relation to and conditioned by the market and modernity. To a certain extent, it is possible to say that the CVC solidarity and community are constructed in contrast to modernity, even if its understanding is based on a general sense and there is no real definition of what modernity may be. Everyday life outside the school appears to be and to have the same role that modernity had for Tönnies and Durkheim.

9.1.4. Spirit as Genius Loci

The fact that the spirit seems immutable in time and its ability to apparently resist change deserves more attention. The school, which opened in 1967, tried and still tries to maintain the life as similar as possible to how it was initially conceptualized. The spirit can be considered the key for maintaining the experiences equal in time. The notion is incredibly tied to the 'place' and it constitutes its essential character and atmosphere, its *genius loci* (Jivén and Larkham, 2003). This expression derives from the ancient Roman religion, in which the *genius loci* was considered a natural or supernatural entity tied to a place. The spirit consists of all the different elements that make this particular place and setting special for its frequenters but it is also irretrievably connected to its environment. It could not be considered in the same way and frequenters would see it differently if removed from Caprera. The school's different dynamics and the community's characteristics all fall under the notion of *genius loci*. The spirit can be considered in such a way also given its role in fostering the notion of distinction. It is through the spirit, understood as composed holistically by all the elements previously discussed, that the school tries to differentiate itself. The quest for differentiation is not just made through the routine, the activities and sailing, but also through the physical place. The environment

in general appears to have an important role and this perception seems to allow people to perceive it as something mystical that belongs not just to the frequenters as people:

“I always thought that the spirit is a word used in a lot of different senses and that comes to mind as something that exists beyond those that share it. If I say that there is a spirit it is as if this does not necessarily need to exist in a person...” (INT. 7)^{F.P.}

This quote highlights how the spirit is not exclusively tied to the people but goes beyond them perhaps not just in a mystical way but also in relation to a ‘sense of place’. When pondering my reflexivity in the research I realised that I had great difficulty in separating the school as institution from the community and vice versa. After some time trying to get my head around this issue and how to present both aspects, I realised that as an insider they were almost the same. The reason for seeing them in such a way lies in this notion and in the fact that it bonds the school and the community together in an indivisible way. The spirit belongs to the place in its wider sense and cannot be separated from it.

9.1.5. Spirit as Secular Sacred

The value the place and the spirit appear to have for the frequenters can also be connected to the last characteristic of it. In fact, the spirit seems to also to have a mystical aspect. In particular, it seems that the spirit is considered sacred by the frequenters. The notion of the sacred, as opposed to profane, was initially introduced by Durkheim (1995), and subsequently applied to different areas of sociological analysis including sport studies (Goodger, 1985). The sacred refers to those collective representations, practices and experiences that are set apart from society or that transcend the humdrum of everyday life. The profane can be considered everything else which is mundane and belongs to everyday life. Sport or sporting events

have been considered as sacred phenomena and analogies have been made between the sporting experience and the religious one, for example by Coles (in Hill, 1968) who frames football as 'surrogate religion'. I do not believe that the experience of the CVC can be considered in the same way and compared to a religious experience, since it lacks some fundamental aspects of it. For instance, it takes only a few weeks during the year instead of every weekend, like in the case of football, and, although it could still be considered significant, its isolation and sporadic nature differentiate it from more profound religious experiences.

The sacred aspect of the spirit must be considered within the realm of the secular and in relation to a more human dimension, as discussed in the literature. In particular, as discussed by Shilling and Mellor (2014), as secular sacred. The spirit can be considered something extraordinary but it does not possess any other-worldly dimension nor any clear ties to a religious experience (Featherstone, 2007; Ferguson, 1992). The secular sacred shares with other sporting sacred the drive to differentiate itself from other moments of society life. Moreover, the secular sacred is dependent upon individuals and groups being able to valorise a phenomenon in its own right, outside the religious context (Shilling and Mellor, 2014). While being in the field or during the interviews no one ever framed the experience of the school in terms of being something religious but on the contrary the experience appeared secular.

The valorisation of the phenomenon and the aim to differentiate what is happening on the island from everyday life appear to be the elements that create this feeling of the sacred. In particular, the sacred aspect of the spirit can be considered as sacred as "counter-culture" (Demerath, 2000). Demerath explores the varieties of sacred experiences within the secular. By recurring to four different variables and combining them, he identifies four different types of experiences. The sacred as "counter-culture" involves institutional form with a compensatory function. The institutional form

refers to the experiences of the sacred that occur within a culturally vested collectivity, in this case the CVC as an institution and community. The compensatory function regards the experience as supplying a release or relief from demeaning activities by providing alternative commitments and communities (Demerath, 2000: 5). The sacred as a “counter-culture” is related to organizations or movements that offer distinct alternatives to the societal mainstream. The spirit could be considered sacred in light of the aim of differentiating itself from the mainstream culture, which is an essential aspect of the school. Being sacred, in this particular case, seems to be related to being allegedly different, unique and separated. Everything that happens within the school and is represented by the spirit assumes a sacred nature and is opposed to the more mundane nature of everyday life.

The spirit is secular sacred for its frequenters, it represents everything that can create a clear caesura from what happens in the school in relation to what happens outside. The meaning that it gains is essential for making the exclusivity and differentiation claims. This aspect of being sacred has been clearly highlighted during those episodes in fieldwork and while doing the interviews in which asking too many questions or questions that contested some particular practices, would result in a non-answer or a weird look. Whenever I was trying to investigate more in depth the reasons for certain behaviours or events, it felt as if I was questioning something that could not be questioned. Rationalizing certain aspects too much seemed to mean that I was trying to put the experience of the CVC on the same level as the experience of everyday life, therefore I was contesting the sacred aspect of the spirit. For example, when I asked two AdVs, who were complaining about it, why they did not feel appropriate that their barracks mates were discussing make up options and how to dress before coming to breakfast, I received an extremely disappointed and surprised look by them. As explained in the research method section, while collecting data there was a threshold that I was not able to pass, probably related to being an insider.

People did feel uncomfortable with or strange about the fact that someone that they knew shared the spirit would ask such questions that were investigating this sacred aspect. Therefore, I believe the threshold that I encountered was nothing more than the sort of sacred aspect. It was fine to ask about the practices but once the questions went too far and tried to question the alleged uniqueness they did not deserve an answer.

9.1.6 The Spirit of Caprera: Conclusion

Finally, the problems encountered in that data collection also highlighted the relationship that the investigation of the spirit had with the research methods. The spirit and its characteristics are related to the holistic experience of the school and during the coding or the data collection it has not been completely possible to obtain straight answers about the spirit. In experiencing the spirit, directly participating in the school dynamics was essential, even if this needs to be properly considered. In fact, the performativity of the research methods, I believe, influenced the comprehension of this hazy and mystical phenomenon. As Law and Urry (2004) noted, research methods help to produce the reality that they investigate and the spirit of Caprera must also be understood as the product of an ethnography. Considering the spirit has a fluid concept with no rigid structure which, together with the ethnographic methods, has influenced the understanding of the spirit.

Nevertheless, even considering these issues, it has been possible to characterise this ephemeral reality. By putting together all the different characteristics of the spirit discussed, it is possible to find a sort of definition of it without forgetting about how problematic investigating such realities can be. The spirit of Caprera can be considered the holistic experience of the collection of the different aspects of the school and a way of describing them as a whole. The spirit creates a strong bond that keeps the community

together in time, helps to recreate it and frames itself as secular sacred, therefore exclusive and separated from everyday life. The spirit represents the collection of the practices, experiences, values, rules, norms, feelings, sensations that everyone perceives while attending the school. As said in one the interviews, the spirit is

“What allows you to put everything in order so that the experience has a *fil rouge*, a logical sense” (INT. 11)^{F.I.}

I believe that this quote also highlights an important aspect of the spirit. As I tried to underline in the different chapters, the experience of the CVC is filled with contrasts, tensions and contradictory elements. I believe there are two more comprehensive and important ones. The first is the sense of freedom that many frequenters describe. However, it is interesting to see how this feeling unfolds in a rigidly disciplined institution that aims to control every little detail of the life. The second point of tension is the idea of everyone being treated in the same way and as equals while the hierarchy, gender, the social class barriers and the forms individualisms create a distinctive experiences and differentiate the frequenters. The spirit seems to be the way in which the frequenters make sense of these tensions. These tensions are experienced but, when analysing the data or asking the participants of the study, they fail or refuse to recognise them. Recurring to something mystical, ephemeral and sacred allows them to accept more willingly what they are practicing and also provides an explanation for the different experiences and feelings. All the inputs that the school gives are understood as the consequence of something with a sort of supernatural nature. In fact, the tension between the different elements can also be traced to the spirit. By considering the spirit as a collective essence, I expected that all the frequenters would share the same idea of what it is. However, even if a great deal of what the spirit is is in fact shared, there is also a part of it which seems to be more subjective and personal. It seems that a certain degree of the understanding of the spirit depends on the

person that has interiorised it. As a very experienced instructor once told me during fieldwork when I asked for advice on what to write in a report card:

“You cannot put in it that ‘the pupil did not comprehend the spirit’, because the spirit is a very personal idea, it is a very subjective concept. The meaning that it has for you could not be the same for the person that will read it [the report card]”.

This tension within the spirit, between the collective and the personal, I believe creates two different effects that are important for the spirit’s ‘success’. On the one hand, it makes the spirit more undefined and hazy. The personal meaning, underlined by the lack of a general definition of the spirit, makes its understanding harder, since there is not a real prescribed way of seeing it. On the other hand, the personal level of comprehension that everyone applies tends to make the spirit more effective, since it allows people to see in it whatever they think is more relevant for themselves. However, regardless of the personal significance of the spirit that may slightly change its meaning for each frequenter, what seems important is that it still maintains a very high collective significance. It does not seem to matter too much that the spirit can have a more personal meaning as long as this personal meaning does not overshadow the major and most important collective aspects. Similarly, with other processes in Caprera, the collective is more important than the personal.

In considering the spirit in such a way also something else needs to be thought. The idea of the spirit emerges also in the socialization process during which it is sometimes presented. This process requires a period of training into the values, perspective, characteristics and new self of the community (Donnelly and Young, 1988) and this happens in the ways explained in the previous chapters. It is worth noticing that novices who start off with a two-weeks course tend to be more easily socialised into the spirit. A longer stay allows more time to acclimatise and ‘digest’ the different inputs as well as to gather more experience. Especially in the second week,

pupils can understand that what is happening is based on a design and what they witnessed in the first week was not unintended. Experienced frequenters feel that they can relate more to those they feel have spent more time in the school. The discourse about the spirit, as a way of making sense of the experience as whole, tends to be presented more explicitly to them. Consequently, these novices may feel encouraged to embrace this idea which they may find a reasonable explanation for everything they experienced. To a certain extent, it is possible to say the notion of spirit is provided as a possible meaning for the experience and for making sense of the tensions to novices. However, this idea is suggested to them but they are not forced or compelled to accept it, but if they do, they then attach an individual meaning, that, as said, makes it more successful. Nevertheless, it seems that to fully understand the experience there is sort of minimum requirement of time to be spent in the school. This of course does mean that who spent one week cannot understand but surely it is harder for these pupils to be socialised in the community and for the community to involve them.

Given the role that spirit has in characterising the experience and the island I believe that it is worth mentioning also my reflexivity. I started the research as someone enchanted, very much like the other frequenters, by the spirit and the place but the research has pushed me out of my enchantment. Constantly exercising my reflexivity has resulted in rationalising and looking for an explanation of everything that I felt or experienced in the field. If initially it was quite hard and it needed to be a more conscious process, I soon realised that it started to happen more habitually. Starting to understand the processes and looking at them while also considering my reflexivity was disenchanting me. Moreover, my relationship with the frequenters has also changed. When talking to them I can still understand what they refer to, the meaning and the value of what they say is completely changed. I now tend to have a detached, disenchanted and rational opinion

of the CVC. Whenever a frequenter presents me one of the narratives of the school I now tend to consider it more as a 'story' that people tell to each other because of what they shared. I can still understand their perspective but it is now, for me, just something limited, bounded and situated in time and space just for certain privileged people. The research process has changed my insider's perspective by disenchanting me. However, I believe, that this process has improved the research since it has allowed me to present the point of view of the insiders and how they felt but, at the same time, also a more rational and sociological take. In the writing process, I tried to respect both positions as much as possible and therefore I often provided the frequenter's point of view before my own reflections. The disenchantment has helped my understanding of the CVC since it has allowed me to distance myself from my experience and to provide a more critical view which is the result of the research deconstruction process. I also believe that the shift from enchanted to disenchanted has also helped me understand the existence of an ephemeral and mystical reality. This process has been important for proving the presence of something more comprehensive that moved beyond the single different practices.

In conclusion, the spirit of Caprera can be understood as the meaning developed by, attached to and based on the experiences and practices done by the frequenters. It seems that the spirit is the core aspect of the CVC and a means through which everyone builds a more personal meaning and a sense of affection. I believe the voice of the frequenters can more easily try to transmit what the spirit and its significance are:

"For me the spirit means.... Sense of identity, sense of belonging to the island and to its traditions in which all of us have grown and to which we all contribute. I don't know if I can define it in a more practical way... it is energy, a mix of memories and... emotions. Emotions that... I don't know how to say it... they do not refer only to the past, it is a whole of feelings that the thought of Caprera provokes in all of

us, together with the need of returning there and to transmit it... ” (INT. 12)^{F.I.}

The spirit represents what makes Caprera what it is for its frequenters, its nature and collection of experiences, sensations and positive feelings. Thanks to the spirit, people seem to make sense of an experience that includes tensions and contrasts, that aims to differentiate itself from what people normally do, that becomes extremely meaningful for them and that they perceive as a whole, holistically.

9.2. Research Conclusion

In conclusion, the research has been investigating the spirit and the school of Caprera while highlighting the social processes that take place at the school and that allow the formation of such ephemeral feelings to arise. I believe the research has been able to contribute to the study of spirit from a sociological standpoint as well as, by discussing elements of the sport of sailing, to those streams of studies that focus on sport communities. This last section draws together the main contributions towards these two areas, the CVC organisation and the sociological enterprise.

The first contribution regards the spirit which has been the main subject of the investigation. The definition and understanding of spirit provided in the research contributes to the notion of spirit in the context of more mundane and secular activities (Parry, 2007) in which the meaning is “based in the experience and practice of a person or group” (Parry, 2007: 1). The spirituality is developed in and through the disciplines and practices of the CVC frequenters and the spirit is focused on practices, experiences and beliefs and it is located and learnt through direct experience (Robinson, 2007). My analysis of the spirit of Caprera contributes to this view of spirit by adding a new perspective based on a sport. In other sailing studies, similar realities can be found. When looking at the literature about ocean cruising,

some people refer to the concept of “flow” or to spirituality and healing as a consequence of their contact with nature and the ocean (Lusby and Anderson, 2010). The former is considered more as a psychological experience (Macbeth, 1988) within the autotelic experience of ocean cruising, an experience that has a purpose apart from itself. The concept of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) signifies a state of happiness that people reach when ‘in the zone’ or ‘in the groove’, an optimal state of mind. The latter refers to finding in nature a place for healing and to connect with the universal energy when ‘things go wrong’. The spirit of the CVC could be considered alongside these similar concepts when analysing the sport of sailing since they refer to something ephemeral and related to mundane practices and secular experiences. The research has highlighted which could be some of the structural characteristics and presuppositions necessary for creating this collective spiritual essence. The in-depth analysis of these characteristics, even if they must be considered as something extremely bounded to the setting, could perhaps help the understanding of how the spirit is sparked. The centrality of a certain kind of experience, as well as the sense of belonging to a group, appear as essential elements. Moreover, the sense of holism, the fact that the spirit is ultimately a meaning attached to something complex, even contradictory in some instances, and the relevancy not merely for the individual but also for the collective add a different perspective. In fact, if the other similar concepts that other sailing studies have dealt with the individual consequences of similar realities, the study of the CVC uncovers what the collective consequences and results are.

The second contribution regards the study of sport subcultures. The research contributes to this stream by adding the study of this sailing community which, although very situated. Within this wider area, there are some specificities. Sailing unlike other similar sports, has within itself a great degree of variability that depends on many conditions. For example, the type of boats, being competitive or not, being a lifestyle or something done

as leisure. The study of sailing subcultures has to consider the different characteristics of the sport environment. The CVC is non-competitive and based on leisure, sailing is done on dinghies and yachts (even if the latter have not been investigated) and it is land-based. One of the most interesting aspects of this setting that allows one to draw a comparison with other sailing realities like ocean cruising, the most studied sailing subculture, is the replica aspect. The CVC aims to replicate the lifestyle of a tall ship on land and this is what allows similar dynamics to rise and appear. Certain aspects of the CVC life, like being part of a crew, sharing duties and responsibilities and helping each other, are easily identifiable also in other sailing subcultures even if in different degrees. There are similarities regarding the escape and detachment from society towards which there is a critical approach, the relationship with nature and the will to help each other in the community. However, the detachment in ocean cruising is obtained by embracing a new lifestyle, something more permanent, and by creating an environment which is profoundly anti-structural, which is the opposite of the CVC. The different combination of the sailing elements can create very different communities and subcultures and if some aspects may be shared there are still important differences. The CVC's characteristics make the setting quite specific but at the same time their analysis makes contributes to the study of sailing by adding another setting and different ways of seeing and practicing the sport. The spirit of the CVC, which surely has some specificities, can help to create a connection. The fact that different contexts such as the CVC and ocean cruising have related elements, like the spirit and the flow, suggests that, perhaps, it is sailing as a sport that hugely contributes to the creation of such entities. The notion of spirit in the setting of a sailing school and the spirituality and flow in ocean cruising relate the two different subcultures to one another and could help in finding a common ground for comprehending better the features of sailing from an individual and a collective perspective. Lastly when considering this

contribution also the method and theory need some attention. Ethnography is a research method which has been already used to investigate sport subcultures. However, the aim of studying the spirit has shaped the different chapters and discussion of the theoretical benchmarks in function of the final analysis surrounding the spirit. The analysis of the institution, time, authority, culture, gender and social class have been thought and conceptualised also to transmit the many aspects of the spirit. The description of the different features limits to a certain extent the general applicability of the analysis. My position as an insider, as someone that has been participating in the setting practices for more than ten years, also influenced the research. However, as with similar studies which emphasise the importance that doing the sport has in understanding such realities, being an insider, which is always been carefully reflected upon, has been a fruitful resource.

Given that the research is also known to the CVC authorities, I hope that they will use them to improve some of the core aspects of the CVC. There are two areas in which I hope the school will focus its efforts. The first area regards the access to the school. the school is reserved only to those that can afford to pay the high price for the courses and I think that the possibility of having such experience should not be simply determined by someone's social class. The school should aim to make its environment available and useful for society. According to the school the price of the courses is largely determined by the high running cost, insurances and materials provided and if lowering the prices would be hard I hope that the school will continue on the path started a couple of years ago of organising special courses. These courses can be done for team-building purposes but also, for example, for oncological patients who are undergoing a recovery process, especially from a psychological perspective. These courses could be a good starting point for opening the school to more frequenters and to provide a wider range of people with something positive and supportive. In this regard, the research

could be used to enhance those aspects of the life that could be more beneficial according to the different people's needs. The second area of intervention regards the gender dynamics. The school's authorities as well as most instructors do not seem to be too much concerned with this problematic aspect of the life. However, if these figures, starting from the very top of the school, would take a more explicit standpoint against the clearly discriminating and sexist practices, I think, it could be greatly beneficial. Firstly, the school would be truer towards its aims of treating everyone equally. Secondly showing to the frequenters a more equal environment could be something that they would carry with them also outside the school. Being in an environment where these issues are treated differently and with more care could perhaps work as an eye opener especially for young frequenters.

In relation to the contribution to the sociological enterprise, I believe there is one main area that can be identified. Because of the CVC's institutional structure and its importance for the experience, it is possible to relate some aspects of this research also to the general study of institutions. The research has mainly used Foucault's and Goffman's concepts which are often associated with the critical study of institutions that are problematic for the individual, such as total institutions, and that are put to the service of wider social forces. I believe, the research fits into this wider study of institutions but perhaps in a different way by contributing to a new perspective. In fact, it seems that the setting is challenging for the frequenters but without any real negative connotations. It seems that the CVC offers relief or an escape from those wider social forces that were thought by Goffman and Foucault to be the cause behind the creation of such institutions. Therefore, the study of Caprera contributes to a new view on similar institutions that are now changing aims and shape, like Susie Scott's (2011) reinvented institutions or the sport panopticon.

In conclusion, I believe the research has mainly contributed to the study of spirit and sport communities and in particular sailing. However, there are still areas in which a further exploration is needed. The specificity of the setting of Caprera is both a pro and a con of the research. The focus on this setting has helped the understanding of how different elements and processes interact with one another and help or hinder each other in a sailing context. At the same time, the results should be considered in the context of this school, in this time and with its particular frequenters. In terms of future research, it would be interesting to explore how other sailing schools organise their life and how this could influence their sense of belonging and internal dynamics. In order to create a more comprehensive analysis of sailing, other realities should be looked at and then compared to be able to distinguish the common aspects from the more specific ones. Concepts such as flow and spirit, that seem to apply to different sailing contexts, could be looked at more in depth to understand how, and if, they are related to this specific sport or can be also observed in other contexts. Moreover, it would be interesting to look for similar realities in which some other aspects of the CVC, like the sport panopticon or the 'total' institutional structure, could be identified and research how these processes could be used for the benefit of the experience and the participants.

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Website:

www.centrovelicocaprera.it

Interviews:

Interview 1, 2015: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 2, 2016: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 3, 2015: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 4, 2015: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 5, 2016: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 6, 2016: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 7, 2015: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 8, 2015: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 9, 2016: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 10, 2015: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 11, 2016: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 12, 2016: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Interview 13, 2015: Interviewed by Author [Skype]

Appendix A

School's History and Governance

The CVC was a dream and an idea of five people who, inspired by the French sailing school of Glenans, decided to create a similar Italian version of it. The 'founding fathers', as they are sometimes called, founded the school 1967 with the help of the Italian Touring Club (TCI) together with the Italian Navy Union (Lega Navale Italiana, LNI), an association that aims to promote the love and knowledge of the sea to the public. The founders, thanks to some acquaintances in the Italian Navy, obtained the Navy's permission to use the base of Caprera, that had been previously used during the Second World War, as the main settlement for the school. This base was rebuilt before the first courses started but the original layout as well as the function of each building remained almost unaltered. In 1975 a third associate, the pupils' association (Associazione Allievi, AIVA) joined the two founders. This association comprehends all the pupils and the volunteers of the school, the membership for the novices is included in their first course while everyone else has to pay a small annual fee to be part of it. During the year, the association keeps the members in contact with each other, organizes sailing gatherings and few social event.

The CVC is registered as a sport association. According to the Italian law such institutions must be non-profit. This means that the revenues cannot be shared among owners or stakeholders but must be reinvested. In fact, every year the school spends the available money to improve different aspects, such as the boats, the barracks, food, energy efficiency or other elements of its infrastructure.

The CVC administrative structure is composed of the three main associates (TCI, LNI and AIVA), an executive committee (board), a president, a vice-president and secretary. The board is composed by 6 main members (LNI has 2, TCI has 2, AIVA has 2), the other administrative figures and sometimes the head of the school. President, vice-president and secretary have different levels of decision autonomy and freedom but it is the board's duty and job to approve and endorse the most important decisions. Within this structure, these roles are paid. However, the board often makes use of some volunteers' professional expertise, who are not paid, to help them sort out plans and solution for certain problems. This first started after the financial crisis in 2008 when a lot of volunteers gathered to help the school solve its most serious issues. Since this process proved to be very effective and helped the school a lot, the administration sometimes decides to still ask this people for some help.

In 2017, the CVC celebrated its fiftieth year of activity and provided instruction to more than 100,000 pupils.

Appendix B

Rules of Life 1

These are the “Rules of Life” as given to the instructors and available on the website.

The following “Rules of Life” represent the tradition of our school. They might seem apparently “harsh”, but in reality they are only good behavioural norms in order allow the crew life to properly unfold during the moment of fun and the most serious ones, while respecting the place where we are, the sea and our course mates.

1. The Centro Velico Caprera is a sailing and sea school: the attendance at the courses requires commitment, discipline, adaptability and acceptance of the behavioural norms. The access to the base is allowed only to the instructor and the pupils that are currently in a course. Cars (that should remain outside the gate) or motorbikes, dogs and other animals are not allowed. The acceptance in the courses is at the only discretion of the school.
2. Arrivals and Departures must be strictly in accordance with the dates and schedules (for the base of Caprera the use of collective means organised by the school is advised). The Centro Velico Caprera does not take any responsibility for the journeys to and from the base of Caprera.
3. It is not allowed to be absent, even temporarily, from the base except for justifiable reasons and with the permission of the Chief of Base. Visits from friends or relatives are not allowed, unless if expressly authorised by the Chief of the Base.
4. Order and cleanliness are essential in a community life and they apply to the people and the personal belongings, as well as the dormitories, rooms and common facilities, the surrounding environment the equipment and the facility of the base. The care for the boats and the materials is vital for the school.
5. Sleeping after a busy and tiring day is a sacred right, therefore any noise in the vicinity of the dormitories must stop at the silence time. Radios, iPods or similar are not welcome and their use is forbidden in the common areas and during the activities. Also mobile phones, which should be turned off during the activities, should be used with discretion.
6. In the courses where pupils sleep in dormitories, male cannot visit the female dormitory and vice versa.
7. Safety is a dominant theme while teaching on land and on sea: from the obligation to wear the life jacket on the emergency boats to the fire equipment. Everyone has to contribute to the prevention of risks, in

order to avoid any harm to people or damages to the equipment. It is also mandatory to observe the law and the directive issued.

8. The Chief of the Base has the faculty to remove from the base those pupils who demonstrate of not being suitable to the community life of the school or who have been found guilty of serious misconducts.
9. The use of the boats is allowed only for the institutional activities of the school. Any other use needs to be authorised by the Chief of the Base.

Rules of Life 2

These rules are exposed in the common dining area of each of the three bases. At the beginning of every course the instructors explain them to the pupils.

Centro Velico Caprera

Rules of Life of the Base of Caprera: Extract

Your enrolment is subordinate to the knowledge and free acceptance of the Rules of Life of the Base, which constitutes the law of Caprera. Their application is in the care of the Chief of the Base, if case of his absence, it is in the care of the Chief of Operations, Head of the Courses and Instructors.

In this "extract" we remind some of the fundamental principles to which they are inspired.

1. **Courses:** they have an official beginning and end: therefore early arrivals and departure are not allowed.
2. **Discipline** is essential while on the boats and on land; the CVC is a School of "Sea" but also a School of life, which, in order to be serious, need also to be rigorous.
3. **Own vehicles** are not allowed: therefore, no cars are permitted and if you have a boat you have to berth outside the Base boundaries.
4. **The boundaries** must be respected. On land, because we are on somebody else's land and in a National Park. On sea, because the boundaries allow other people to monitor you in every moment, therefore to provide safety while navigating.
5. **Visits** from relatives and friends are not permitted if not authorised by the Chief of the Base. They would create confusion and hinder the communal activities.
6. **Sleeping** is essential for a sporting and demanding life. Respect other people's sleep and do not forget about it yourself.
7. **Cleanliness** is essential everywhere, indispensable in the Base because of the lack of water, the hot weather and the density of people; take care of it personally and when in the *comandata*.
8. **The materials** are also necessary for other courses; do everything you can to preserve them.
9. **Water** is scarce, do not waste it if you still want to use it.
10. **Fire** can easily light in the "*Mediterranean Maquis*". Extinguish every cigarette and do not light any small or big bonfire.
11. **Safety** is fundamental: you are in sailing school and you are here to learn. Follow the advices that you will be given and you will always be safe whatever you will be doing. This is way you have to wear the lifejacket or the belt that have to be worn by everyone who is embarked.

12. **Time** (appointments/schedule) of any kind must be respected; only in this way you can guarantee the cohabitation of a lot of people.
13. **The phone.** There is no public phone in the CVC. The use of self phones is forbidden in the canteen, during the lessons and on board of boats. Use them mildly.
14. **Commissions** for La Maddalena can only be given in emergency situation and with the permit of the Chief of the Base. Keep in mind that the personal do not have any available time.
15. **The services** of any kind are essential for the life in the Base: conform yourself in doing certain things that somewhere else you would not do: you will need them when you will be on board on your own boat.
16. **In the kitchen**, with the exception of the *comandata*, no one is allowed to enter.

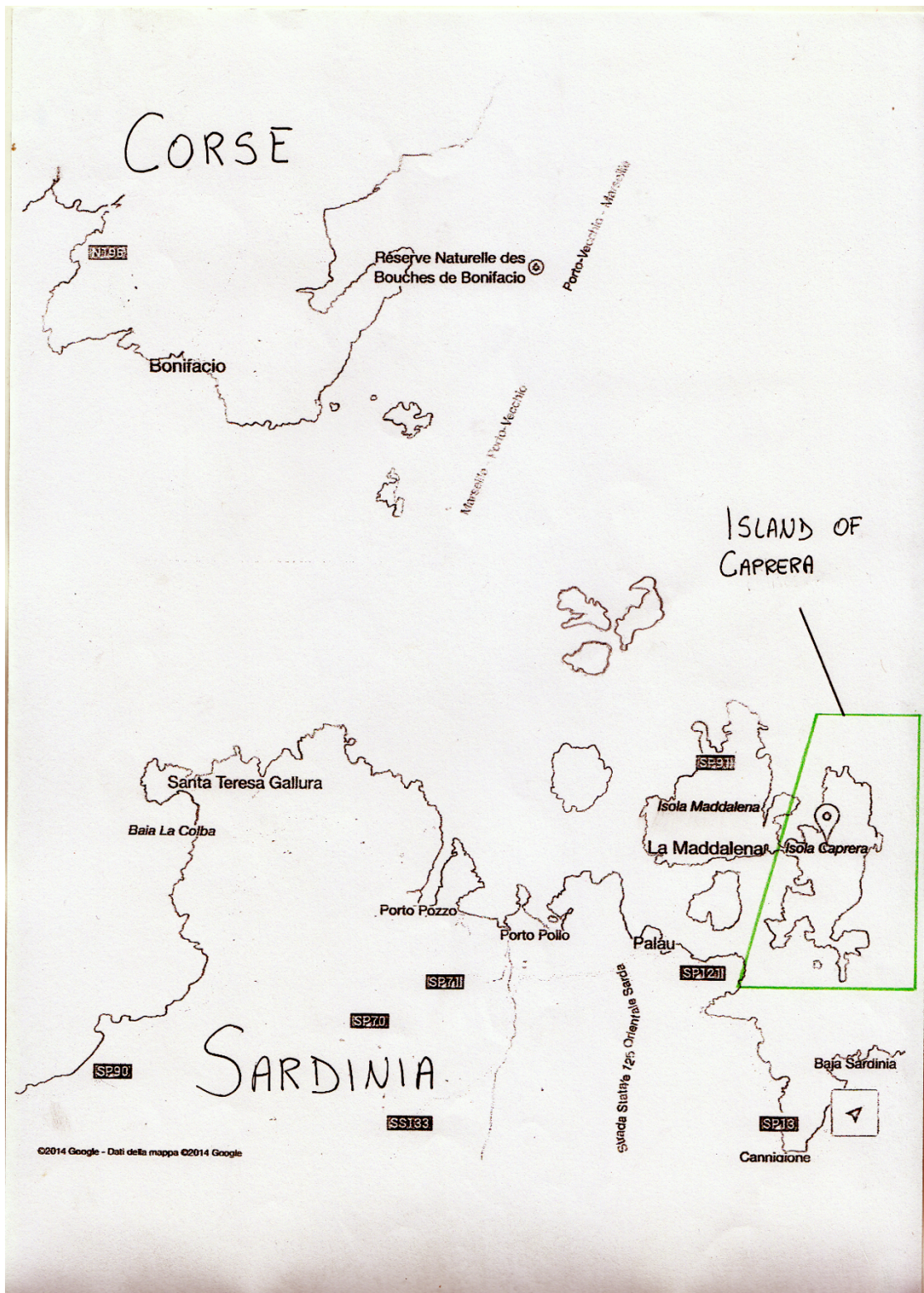
Complying with these norms is an eligibility condition for the life of a community like ours. Not complying with them means risking expulsion from the Base: it is your choice. You decided to attend the School of Caprera: **adapt.**

Caprera 1967-2007

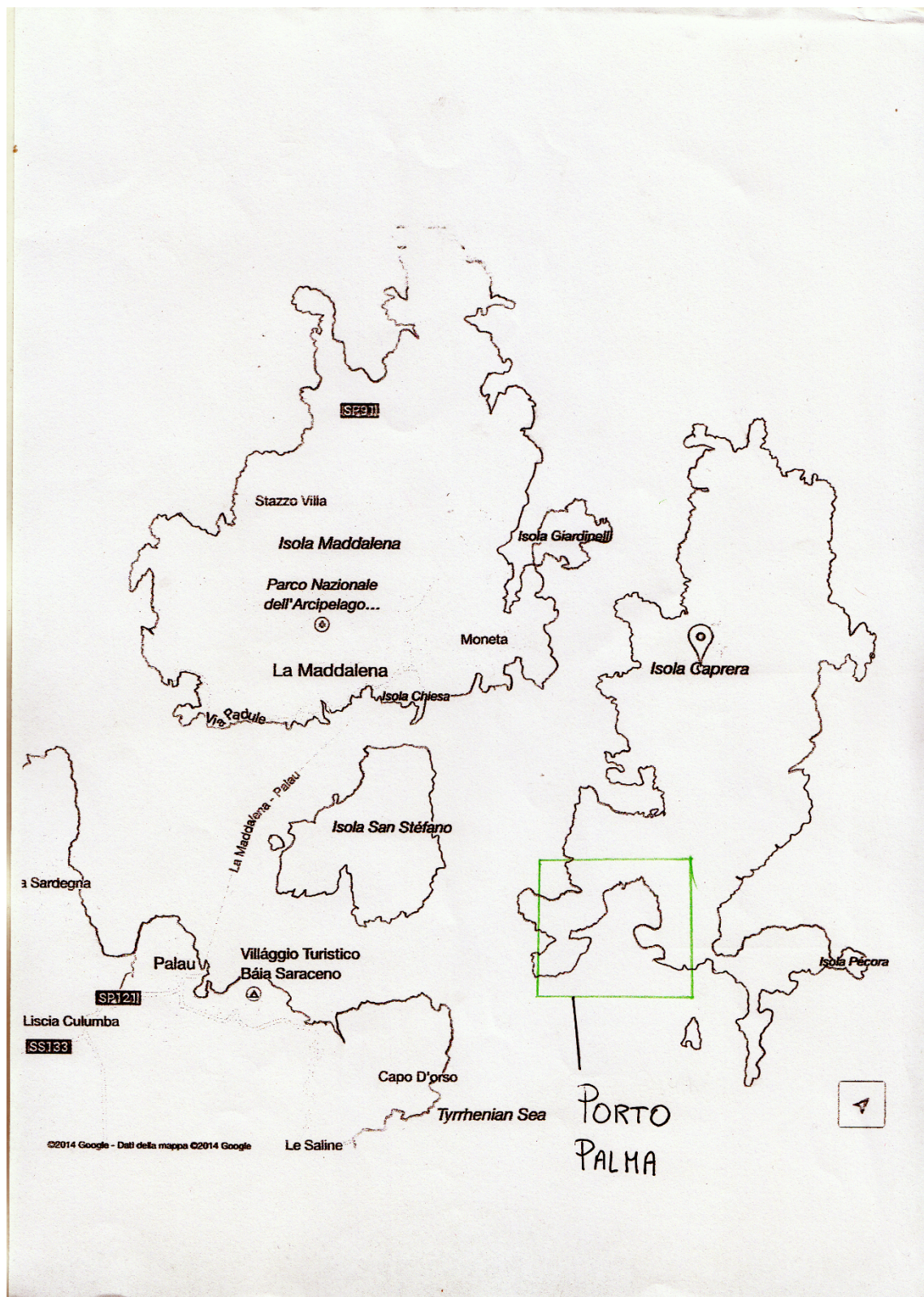
Appendix C

Maps

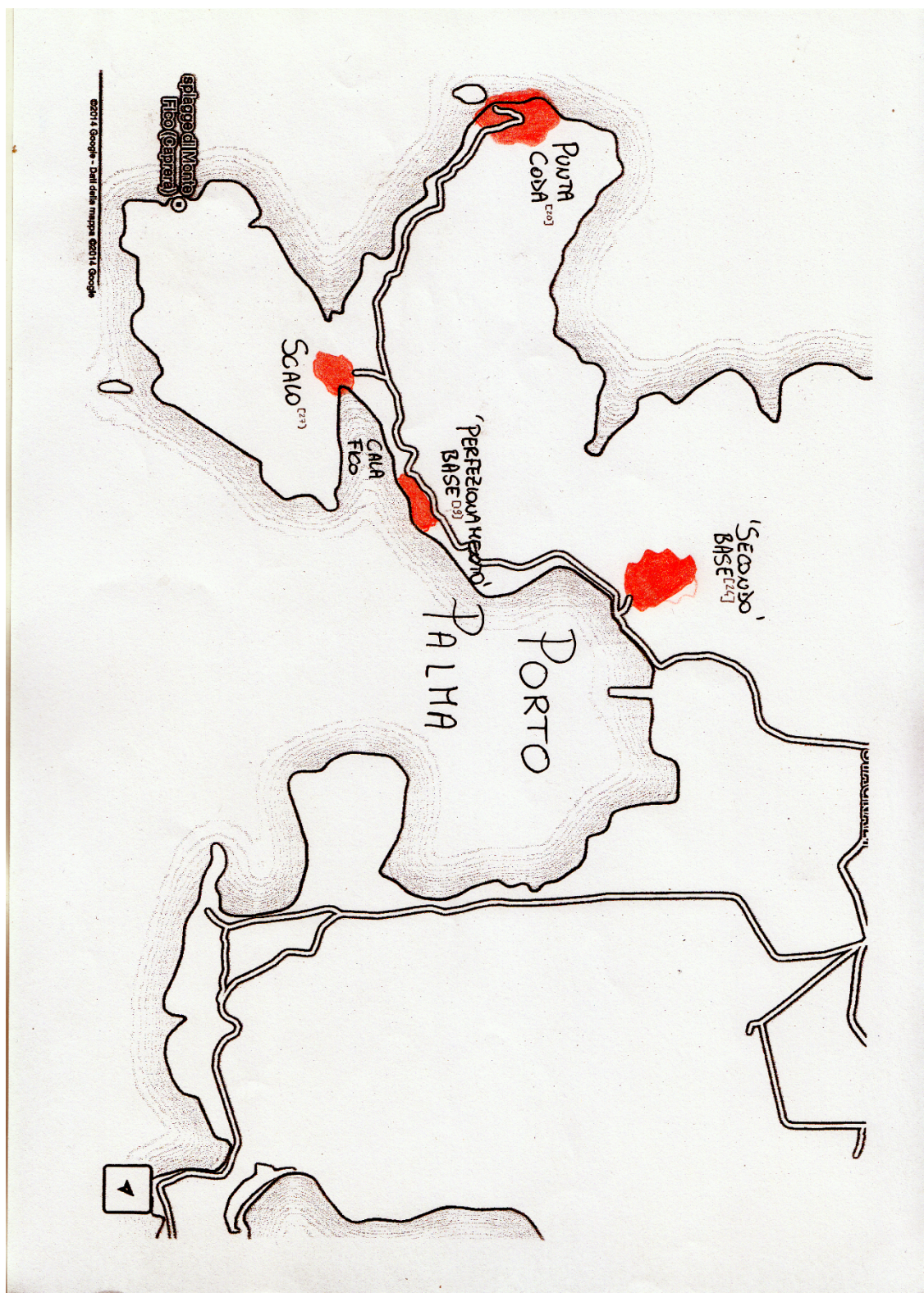
Map 1



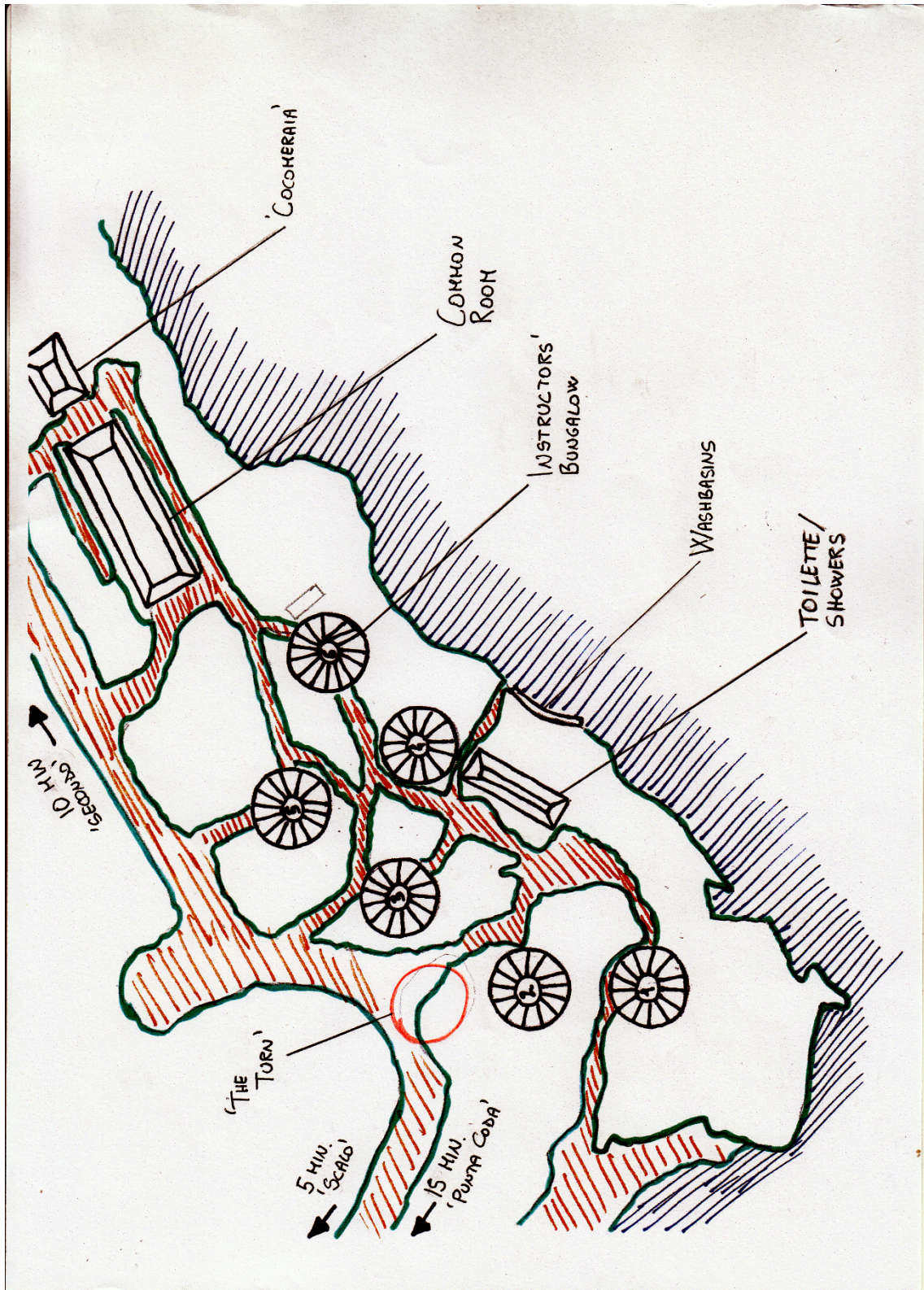
Map 2



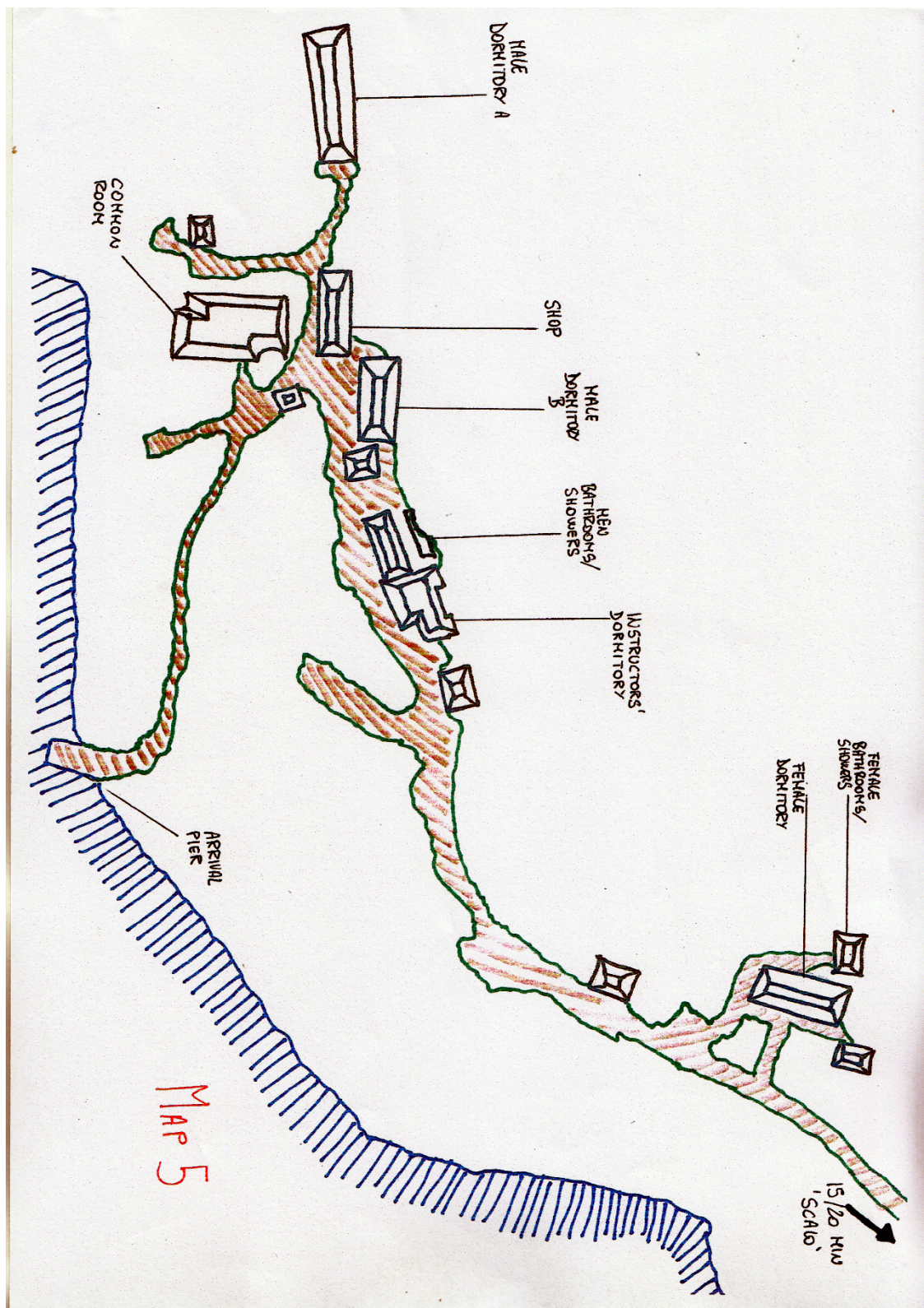
Map 3



Map 4



Map 5



Appendix D

Interview Plan

General Information about the Interviewed

Main Question	Additional Question	Clarify Question
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For how many years have you attended the school? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How many courses approximately? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How old are you?

School Perception

Main Question	Additional Question	Clarify Question
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How would you describe your experience? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How would you explain or describe the School to an outsider? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you give me some example?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How would you describe the School's life? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What role does sailing have in the life in the School? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you give me some example?

Subculture and Spirit

Main Question	Additional Question	Clarify Question
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is a "Caprerino/a"? What are the distinctive traits? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you consider yourself to be a "Caprerino/a"? Have you ever heard the expression "the Spirit of Caprera"? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why do you consider yourself a "Caprerino"? Can you give an example of the "Spirit of Caprera"?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How was the relationship with other people? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How was it created? How was it maintained? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you remember any particular episode?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the School have particular values, norms or rules? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Which are they? How would you describe them? How did you learn them? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you consider this environment special or unique? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If yes, why and how? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you give some examples?

Time, Sport and Subculture.

Main Question	Additional Question	Clarify Question
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How did you perceive your time there? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was it easy to understand how the place worked? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why some moments were

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What were the most relevant moments when you were there? 	more important than others?
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Totality and Authority

Main Question	Additional Question	Clarify Question
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you consider this setting to be closed or opened? 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you give practical example of how the closeness?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you think the place was rigidly disciplined? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If yes, what was your relationship with the authority? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can you give practical example of how the authority worked or how it displayed?

Gender

Main Question	Additional Question	Clarify Question
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you perceived any gender difference while there? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you perceive any other form of differentiation? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If yes, Why? If not, Why?

Other

Main Question	Additional Question	Clarify Question
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is there anything else you would like to add? 		

